

INTERNSHIP IN APPLIED AND DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY:

Catholic Charities of Tennessee Refugee Services:
An Ethnographic Study

Presented to:

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
East Carolina University

December, 2010

By

Leila W. McInnis

An internship with a nongovernment organization provides an opportunity for an anthropology graduate student to learn how an anthropologist might be useful in these organizations. This internship report summarizes working with Catholic Charities of Tennessee Refugee Services in Nashville, Tennessee. Internship duties involved assisting a caseworker in the day to day activities they were involved in while helping refugees become self-sufficient. This report also provides information on how this organization operates when working with refugees as well as an assessment of how an anthropologist might play a role in a refugee agency.

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	2
Chapter 2 – The Agency.....	36
CATHOLIC CHARITIES REFUGEE SERVICES.....	37
PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN THE ADJUSTMENT PROCE.....	54
Chapter 3 – My Role at the Agency.....	56
REFUGEE ORIENTATION.....	59
Chapter 4 – Conclusion: A Role for Anthropology.....	67
CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS SENSITIVITY.....	68
Bibliography.....	73
Appendix A.....	76
Appendix B.....	80

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1. Self-Sufficiency Assessment</i>	44
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Introduction

I interned with Catholic Charities of Tennessee Refugee Services from May 17 to June 25, 2010 - completing a total of 250 hours. A refugee is defined by the United Nations as: “a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country” (UNCHR, 1951). The refugee services department of Catholic Charities INC was developed to aid these displaced persons in finding new homes within the United States. During my internship with this agency, I had the following goals: (1) to understand the mission of the organization and how it is implemented, (2) to gain an understanding of how refugee agencies in general operate, (3) to understand how Catholic Charities goes about placing refugees within Nashville, Tennessee, (4) how they help refugees adapt to their new homes, (5) how they go about making the refugees self-sufficient, and (6) their methods of assessment (how they determine what needs to be done to make the refugees self-sufficient).

The specific objectives of my internship were to find out: (1) what issues or problems Catholic Charities had in placing the refugees and helping them adapt, (2) how culturally sensitive is the organization, (3) what sort of information they gather from refugees upon their arrival, and (4) what information, if any, the organization provided to caseworkers about the cultures of the refugees, the conflicts that made them refugees, and their previous asylum locations and conditions. Lastly, my overriding goal in this internship is to prepare myself for

future employment in this sector and to gain a better understanding of the role an anthropologist could play in these agencies.

A. Literature Review

There is not a lot of literature on anthropologists working in aid agencies or in refugee agencies but following are some examples of practicing anthropologists working within refugee agencies. First, however, I will discuss some articles that provide general information on refugee resettlement agencies.

The world refugee problem is perhaps the most complex of the many global issues that occupy international political decision makers (Hakovirta, 1993:35). This problem has no dominant trait, rather, it is a problem of individuals though it also manifests in various forms on the societal, governmental, and international levels (Hakovirta, 1993:35). In his article “The Global Refugee Problem: A Model and its Application (1993), Hakovirta is seeking to contribute to our understanding of the world refugee problem. He is hoping to do this by focusing on its global nature and its relevance for the general theory and research of international relations. The data he uses consists of major refugee/conflict situations since the late 1950s (Hakovirta, 1993:36). In this article, Hakovirta discusses some of the reasons behind individuals becoming refugees and some of the issues in response to the refugee problem.

Hakovirta says that there are four basic dimensions to the refugee situation. These are: the numbers of refugees, urgency, duration, and outcomes (Hakovirta, 1993:37). The author estimates that the number of post-World War II refugees is approximately ninety million with half of them being children (Hakovirta, 1993:37). As for the urgency dimension, the author states

that there has been a development towards larger and more rapidly unfolding refugee situations (Hakovirta, 1993:37). Between the 1950s and 1970s, massive emergencies resulting in hundreds of thousands of refugees in a short time was the exception but they have become quite common recently which puts the host countries under considerable stress as well as revealing shortcomings in the international assistance regime (Hakovirta, 1993:37). Hakovirta lists Vietnam, Ogaden, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Liberia, Somalia, and Iraq as examples. Next, the author examines the duration and outcome of contemporary refugee situations. He states that before 1970, most of the refugees eventually returned home but since the 1970s, the chances of returning home have become very poor (Hakovirta, 1993:37). This has resulted in the majority of the world's refugees living permanently in camps that were intended to be temporary (Hakovirta, 1993:38).

The world refugee problem is primarily attributed to manmade conflicts. Hakovirta says that there is a positive correlation between warfare in the Third World and the outflow of refugees (Hakovirta, 1993:40). Also, when looking at the principal refugee situation since the 1950s and comparing them to related wars, there is an indication that the more severe the war, the larger the scale of the refugee situation (Hakovirta, 1993:40). At the same time, there has been considerable warfare in countries that have not generated major refugee flows such as Colombia, Malaysia, and Kenya (Hakovirta, 1993:41). Hakovirta does note some positive correlation between refugeeism and repression which ranges from modest violations of human or social rights to massacres. He lists Rwanda, Uganda, and Kampuchea which have been known for brutal mass executions (Hakovirta, 1993:42). In contrast, there have been countries with human rights issues but a very small outflow of refugees such as Senegal. Therefore, while refugeeism

is generated by violence, insecurity, and repression, the correlations are imperfect (Hakovirta, 1993:42). As a result of this, Hakovirta looks at the root causes of refugeeism. He says that the main cause of violence and repression, which gives rise to refugees, appears to be governmental instability, poverty and environmental problems, societal and regional cleavages, and the great power context (Hakovirta, 1993:43). The author states that some of the major contemporary refugee problems arose directly out of conflicts that came about due to decolonization though this issue has not been relevant since the mid-1970s (Hakovirta, 1993:43). Environmental crises have figured increasingly as contributing factors to situations in the Third World. Conflicts that generate refugees do so through direct threat but they also do so by damaging the economic systems which are already fragile. This aggravates the poverty problem and its ramifications for government stability (Hakovirta, 1993:43). Finally, Hakovirta states that while many Third World conflicts arise from power struggles between states, expansionism, and territorial disputes, most of the conflicts that generate refugees are based in societal cleavages such as strained relations between ethnic or religious groups or social classes (Hakovirta, 1993:45).

Since 1980, the response to the refugee problem has lagged behind the growing challenge. Hakovirta states that this gives the impression of gradual resignation in the face of a problem that seems to have no solution (Hakovirta, 1993:49). He feels that the insufficiency of the international response to the refugee problem should be regarded as a significant cause of the problem. According to the author, the strategy seems to be to address the symptoms and not the root cause of the refugee problem (Hakovirta, 1993:49). Another issue is that while most of the world's countries have acceded to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNCHR) norms of dealing with the refugee problem, many of the refugee generating and host

countries have failed to join (Hakovirta, 1993:49). Hakovirta states that one of the UNCHR's main problems is that there is not a regular budget for aid operations. This organization has an Emergency Fund, but this fund has proved insufficient (Hakovirta, 1993:50). Also, since the late 1970s, much of the UNCHR's resources have going to emergency aid and the maintenance of camps instead of the promotion of more permanent solutions to the growing refugee problem (Hakovirta, 1993:50).

Stephanie Nawyn (2007) describes the services that these NGOs provide refugees, the strategies they implement, and how they shape citizenship opportunities for refugees (Nawyn, 2007:1). Nawyn states that NGOs are a central element to the experience of immigrants but have been largely overlooked (Nawyn, 2007:4). These organizations are in a position that allows them to implement refugee policies, to provide monetary resources, and to reflect the larger sociopolitical discourses regarding their entrance and resettlement into the United States. NGOs are also in a position that allows them to advocate for refugees, develop ties with the refugees' home country, as well as to resist state policies and larger sociopolitical discourses. This means that NGOs are in a unique position between the state and the refugees that allows them to mold refugees in to citizens while helping them develop opportunities for refugees to achieve social citizenship (Nawyn, 2007:4).

Nawyn says that a state's interests guide refugee policy and that the state chooses which refugees they will resettle based on their interests (Nawyn, 2007:5). She says that one of the criteria of the US State Department to determine which refugees to admit is based on whether or not that country is of special interest to the United States (Nawyn, 2007:6).

There are three types of NGOs that help resettle refugees within the United States. These are voluntary agencies (volags) which specialize in refugee resettlement, mutual assistance associations, and support NGOs (Nawyn, 2007:9). Mutual assistance associations are different from volags in that they tend to serve one particular ethnic group, all mutual assistance groups do not serve refugees, and not all mutual assistance groups resettle refugees (Nawyn, 2007:9-10). Support NGOs provide assistance in collecting donations to furnish refugee's homes, mental health assessments and treatment for torture victims, mentoring, employment assistance, and transportation (Nawyn, 2007:10).

Nawyn interviewed staff and volunteers of thirty-five refugee resettlement and support NGOs in Los Angeles, Chicago, Sacramento, and Minneapolis (Nawyn, 2007:10). These agencies consisted of twenty volags, ten mutual assistance associations, and five support agencies. Eighteen of these NGOs were faith-based. The author also conducted ethnographic research by observing NGO activities and examined literature and documents produced by the NGOs (Nawyn, 2007:11). Nawyn also acquired some quantitative data through mail surveys through which she gained basic information on the refugee resettlement NGOs such as which refugee groups the organization served, how many refugees they settled, their religious or secular affiliation, what sort of services they provide, the NGO's resource network, changes in staff size since 2001, and what sort of changes the NGOs would like to see in the resettlement system (Nawyn, 2007:12). She found that all NGOs provide reception and placement services. Once the State Department grants admission to refugees, the Office of Refugee Resettlement contacts the volag that has been assigned the refugees. This volag then contacts one of their local office who arranges for housing and ensures the home is stocked with food, clothing, and furniture. This

local office picks up the refugees at the airport unless they have family in the area who will pick them up. The NGO also shows the refugees how to operate the appliances in the apartment once they arrive at their new home (Nawyn, 2007:16). After a day or two, a case manager shows them where to buy groceries and how to apply for a social security card and public aid. The refugees are also informed about American law and behavioral norms. Nawyn states that most NGOs also offer translation assistance; job training; programs for women, children, or the elderly; advocacy services; and cultural or religious activities (Nawyn, 2007:17).

The author says that the federal government provides limited social welfare assistance to refugees. They want the refugees to be employed and able to function in American society as quickly as possible (Nawyn, 2007:36). Resettlement NGOs adopt the state agenda and push the ideas of hard work and following the rules. Those resettlement staff who are former refugees can use their own adaptation as proof that any refugee can make it in America but those refugees who have no family support struggle with the requirement of quick employment. With no family help, the NGO must get together whatever money they can to help the refugees through private donates or volunteer assistance (Nawyn, 2007:36).

The author finishes by saying that volags and mutual assistance associations are necessary in resettlement (Nawyn, 2007:39). These NGOs help refugees navigate government bureaucracies, learn about American culture but retain their own culture, and they help the refugees establish themselves economically in their new home (Nawyn, 2007:39).

Nawyn (2004) also wrote an article that addressed faith-based NGOs specifically and the role they play in refugee resettlement (Nawyn, 2004:1). In the year 2000, NGOs made it possible

for the US to accept over 72,000 refugees. State and international governing bodies that resettle refugees are able to do so because they funnel funds through NGOs. She says that very little research has been done on organizations that help refugees resettle and adapt to a new country. The author also says that while there is a large amount of information on faith-based organizations, there is very little on those faith-based group that assist refugees. In this article, Nawyn describes the relationship between refugee resettlement NGOs, other nonprofit organizations, and government agencies (Nawyn, 2004:1).

Nawyn first explains the refugee resettlement process. The first part of this process is admission in to a new country. This process is handled by the US State Department who provides a suggestion each year on the maximum number of refugees to be admitted that year which is signed off on by the President (Nawyn, 2004:1-2). Before refugees are admitted, they must submit an application to the State Department to have it approved (Nawyn, 2004:2). Once they have been admitted, the process of resettling refugees becomes a local process. It is the local NGOs who meet the refugees at the airport and take them to their new home. NGOs show them how to get groceries and help them apply for public aid. They offer them English classes, job skills training, and help them prepare for the US citizenship exam (Nawyn, 2004:2). There is, however, a close relationship between NGOs and the government. The federal government provides funding to the NGOs for the services they provide the refugees during their first eight months within the United States (Nawyn, 2004:2).

The question Nawyn was trying to answer in her paper was: How do faith-based and secular NGOs differ in how they resettle refugees? (Nawyn, 2004:6). To answer these questions, she planned to interview employees of forty refugee resettlement agencies in Los Angeles,

Chicago, Sacramento, and Minneapolis (Nawyn, 2004:7). At the time of this article, however, Nawyn had only collected data from resettlement agencies in Chicago (Nawyn, 2004:9). She found that being a faith-based organization did not translate into a distant relationship with the government. She found that these organizations had closer ties with the state than did secular NGOs. They received more funding than secular organizations, had more contact with government representatives, and were more active in government lobbying (Nawyn, 2004:9). The author said that this seems to be due to the ages of the organizations. The older the organization, the more intertwined it is with the government. In Chicago, the faith-based NGOs were older than the secular NGOs that resettled refugees (Nawyn, 2004:11). She found that the Jewish Resettlement Services, the oldest NGO in her sample, had the most connections to government agencies while Bosnian Mutual Association, the youngest resettlement NGO in her sample, had the least dependency on government funding (Nawyn, 2004:11-12). In her study of NGOs in Chicago, Nawyn found that the three major faith-based resettlement agencies (Jewish Resettlement Services, Catholic Resettlement Services, and Refugee Ministries) served all refugees no matter what their religion while many of the secular NGOs, such as Bosnian Mutual Aid Association, were started by former refugees and tend to serve their own ethnic group (Nawyn, 2004:12).

In 1983, Norman Zucker wrote an article on policies and problems with refugee resettlement within the United States from 1946 to 1983. He states that in the years following World War II, the refugee policy in the US focused on the basic questions of whom to admit in to the US and how many refugees to admit. The issue of resettlement and the process through which a refugee acclimates to America was not considered until 1960 (Zucker, 1983:173).

Before 1960, refugees had to rely on their own resources and private aid in order to adjust to living in the United States once they were admitted. Zucker states that at the time he was writing this article, resettlement issues had become linked to admission issues and refugee resettlement policy had become a subject of national debate (Zucker, 1983:173).

Nonprofit volunteer agencies that resettle refugees developed a relationship with the federal government after World War II. This began in 1946 with the development of the Corporate Affidavit Program of 1946. This program guaranteed financial support given by these voluntary agencies to prevent refugees and immigrants from becoming a public charge (Zucker, 1983:173). The first major wave of refugees to arrive in the United States after the implementation of this program was the Hungarians in 1956. These refugees were resettled by the private sector and they received some assistance from the federal government in the areas of health care and transportation costs (Zucker, 1983:173). The government provided less than forty dollars per refugee to the voluntary agencies but this established a precedent of payment to these agencies (Zucker, 1983:173). Resettlement practices began to change with the arrival of Cuban refugees. This was the first time the United States was a country of first asylum for a large number of refugees and it was the first time the federal government assumed significant financial responsibility for the resettlement of refugees (Zucker, 1983:174). In December of 1960, President Kennedy established the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act which in turn established the Cuban Refugee Program (Zucker, 1983:174). Under this program, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare implemented programs of cash assistance, medical assistance, child welfare, surplus food, and food stamps. Federal funds also helped finance education for both children and adults, vocational training, and preparation for

professional certification and licensure for doctors and dentists. The federal government reimbursed the state governments for these services (Zucker, 1983:174).

In 1978, the Refugee Act was established. Refugees had been arriving in ever-growing numbers which forced Congress to take a more comprehensive approach to the problems of resettlement (Zucker, 1983:177). This act incorporated policy coordination, the administration of federal refugee programs, and the availability and duration of federal assistance in the process of resettlement. This act recognized that the problems associated with domestic resettlement were long-standing and important for public policy (Zucker, 1983:177). This act did several things in dealing with refugee resettlement: (1) it formally recognized the Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs who developed refugee admission and resettlement policy, and (2) it established the Office of Refugee Resettlement which was empowered to give grants and enter into contracts with nonprofit refugee resettlement agencies (Zucker, 1983:177-78). Basically, this act was designed to be the cornerstone of a humane, comprehensive, flexible, coherent, and efficient refugee policy (Zucker, 1983:179).

In his article, Zucker also discussed problems in refugee resettlement. He said that these problems can be placed into three categories: (1) systemic-managerial, (2) philosophical, and (3) refugee-specific (Zucker, 1983:182). The systemic-managerial problems deal with the interrelationships of refugees, federal government, state government, and local agencies in the process of resettlement. Zucker states that the core issue of these problems is that federal management of resettlement programs is fragmented and refugee management has a low political priority (Zucker, 1983:182). The author also states that the voluntary agencies sometimes contribute to resettlement problems. The different agencies vary in history, experience, size,

denominational affiliation, philosophy, primary clientele, administrative structure, resettlement capacity, and institutionalized resettlement policies and arrangements (Zucker, 1983:183). Also, these agencies operate under loose financial operating requirements and they have a loose definition of core services (Zucker, 1983:183). Finally, Zucker says that these systemic problems arise from the fact that resettlement takes place at the local level (Zucker, 1983:183).

The second category of refugee resettlement problems Zucker mentioned were the philosophical problems. The questions in this area are what benefits should be provided to the refugees and for how long should these benefits be provided (Zucker, 1983:183). There are those who feel that refugees are owed nothing other than the opportunity to come to the United States and make their own way (Zucker, 1983:183). On the other hand, there are those who feel that refugees need compensatory social assistance due to the traumatic experiences they have endured (Zucker, 1983:184). Resettlement policy has adopted a middle-ground but, according to Zucker, there are still some problems. This view holds that refugees are capable survivors and anxious to regain control over their own lives and; therefore, resettlement aid should focus on solving short-term problems that inhibit adjustment and providing opportunities to the refugees to help the resettlement process (Zucker, 1983:184). This approach emphasizes obtaining employment for the refugees as soon as possible and providing resettlement aid concurrently with early employment (Zucker, 1983:184). Decisions that come from philosophies have financial consequences for the government, both federal and state. These philosophies also impinge on the refugees' choices and affect their lives (Zucker, 1983:184).

The final category Zucker mentioned was the refugee-specific problems which can be divided into two kinds: (1) those problems in which the refugees affect the community, and (2)

those problems that affect the refugee. Problems that affect the community involve impactment, competition, and culture clash. Personal refugee problems involve acculturation and culture-shock as well as physical and mental disorders (Zucker, 1983:184).

Zucker finishes by saying that resettlement personnel and policy makers need to become more flexible and develop more discriminating programs and services that recognizes religious and cultural differences among ethnic groups (Zucker, 1983:186). He also says that improvements need to be made in coordination and cooperation of voluntary agencies, local, state, and federal entities. Refugee admission is the responsibility of the federal government and; therefore, they have an obligation to the localities and states that serve as host communities to refugees. Finally, he states that refugees bring short-term costs but long-term benefits to the communities that receive them (Zucker, 1983:186).

The Ryerson University of Refugee Resettlement Process (RRP) was a ten year study of Southeast Asian refugees who came to Canada between the years of 1979 and 1981. The project was one of the largest and most comprehensive investigations of refugee resettlement ever carried out (Beiser, 2009:539). In this paper, Beiser (2009) discusses the “lessons” learned from this project in hopes of stimulating further research as well as to suggest policy and practice innovations that could help make resettlement easier, cheaper, more effective, and more humane (Beiser, 2009:539).

Canada is one of the 147 countries that have signed the UN Convention on refugees which is an international commitment to provide asylum for those who are being persecuted or are stateless. Canada is one of the few countries that offers permanent resettlement, not just

temporary protection (Beiser, 2009:539). Between the years of 1979 and 1981, 60,000 refugees were resettled in Canada from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The RRP researched the 1348 of these refugees that were sent to Vancouver, British Columbia. They gathered information on their resettlement experiences, the social cost of resettling refugees, the factors that promote or hinder integration in their host country, and the risk and protective factors for the mental health of these refugees as well as their use of mental health and social services (Beiser, 2009:540).

In this paper, Beiser lists eighteen lessons that were learned from this project. The first of these is that admitting large numbers of refugees with the intention of permanently resettling them in that country does not have to cost the receiving country too much money (Beiser, 2009:543). The project found that refugees were more likely to be employed than their native-born counterparts. In 1991, the national unemployment rate was 10.3% while it was only 8% among the refugees. An issue, however, is that studies have shown that it can take seven to ten years for immigrants and refugees to achieve economic stability (Beiser, 2009:545). Beiser suggests that sponsorship can help shorten this time-span. RRP found that those refugees who were admitted under private sponsorship were more likely to be employed than their counterparts who were government sponsored (Beiser, 2009:545).

Lesson two is that more should be done to translate research about resettlement into policy and practice in order to promote socioeconomic integration. Resettling in a new country requires establishing economic and social independence, establish networks, and developing tools that would make participation in society possible (Beiser, 2009:546). Beiser states that behavior science theorizes that those who retain their own cultural identity while, at the same time, incorporating elements of the culture in which they now reside are more likely to be

successful than those who choose to assimilate completely to the new culture as well as those who reject the new culture and cling completely to their old culture (Beiser, 2009:546). RRP found that those refugees that were successful in becoming self-sufficient were those that integrated some of their host country's culture in to their lives while retaining aspects of their traditional culture. They were more willing to incorporate the larger culture in to their daily lives while those that were unsuccessful in becoming self-sufficient were unwilling to do so (Beiser, 2009:548). Beiser feels that this suggests that Canada's commitment to multi-culturalism has helped new arrivals adapt to their new homes (Beiser, 2009:548).

Lesson three states that "although culture influences affective tropes, intensity of affective expression, concepts about etiology, and categorizations of disorder, the experience of mental suffering is problem culturally invariant" (Beiser, 2009:548). Beiser states that culture either creates or shapes unique modes of suffering which gives rise to culturally unique categorizations (Beiser, 2009:548). To study this, RRP studied depression among the refugees. They gave the refugees questionnaires to the refugees which, in addition to items found in North American surveys of depression, also incorporated cultural tropes (Beiser, 2009:549). This study showed that the failure to elicit depressive symptoms in cross-cultural settings may be due to a failure to ask the right questions which results in theorizing about a lack of depression in some cultural groups (Beiser, 2009:549). Beiser feels that recognizing commonalities in human experience can help overcome cultural stereotyping and promote empathy in place of estrangement (Beiser, 2009:551).

Lessons four and five state that longitudinal studies are important because gender counts and things change (Beiser, 2009:551). Beiser states that shortly after the refugees arrived in

Canada, men had higher rates of depression than women. During the years after their arrival, however, male rates of depression dropped more rapidly than the female rates of depression. By the end of the first decade after resettlement, the rate of depression in females was higher than in males (Beiser, 2009:551).

Lesson six states that despite traumatizing events in their home countries, most refugees do not become mental casualties (Beiser, 2009:552). In 1981, RRP determined that the rate of depression among refugees who had been in the country for one or two years was only 7.5% while the rate of depression among Vancouver natives was 8.9%. Three or four years after their arrival, the rate of depression among refugees had dropped to 4.4% and within ten years it was down to 2.3% (Beiser, 2009:552).

Lesson seven says that pre- and post-migration traumas create mental health risk (Beiser, 2009:554). Beiser states that RRP found that challenges faced by refugees after they migrate to a new country such as acculturation, unemployment, discrimination, and structural characteristics of the new society can jeopardize their mental health (Beiser, 2009:554).

Lesson eight says that “pre-migration trauma makes a difference at certain times and under certain conditions after refugees arrive in countries of permanent residence (Beiser, 2009:554). While RRP was more interested in post-migration trauma, they did inquire about one pre-migration trauma: internment in refugee camps. RRP had researched camp conditions and listed them on a scale from bad to worst (Beiser, 2009:555). They found that experiences of the refugees in these camps jeopardized their mental health after the refugees arrived in Canada. However, they also found that depression arising from camp conditions disappeared around six

months after their arrival in Canada (Beiser, 2009:555). Part of the explanation for the low risk of psychopathology during the early years of resettlement is that many of the refugees who resettled in Canada dissociated traumatic memories in order to cope (Beiser, 2009:556). RRP found, however, that this is only effective as a short or medium-term coping strategy. Eventually the memories resurface. This recovery of traumatic memories leads to an increased risk of mental disorder (Beiser, 2009:556). When the RRP project ended, these refugees were beginning to recover these memories and some of them were experiencing mental health problems as a result. Being involved in a stable work situation and in a stable relationship, however, helped protect individuals from mental health problems during this time (Beiser, 2009:557). Those that had not achieved occupational success and those that had not been able to maintain an enduring relationship were the refugees who were at risk for mental health issues when repressed memories began to resurface (Beiser, 2009:558).

Lesson nine states that policy makers should consider mental health as part of the human capital the newcomers will contribute to resettlement countries. Beiser states that new settlers are interested in finding work and re-establishing themselves at the professional and economic levels they enjoyed in their home country in order to provide for themselves and their families (Beiser, 2009:558). RRP determined that the relationship between mental health and unemployment is reciprocal. They learned that those who are unemployed or those who lost their jobs experience high rates of depression (Beiser, 2009:558). They state that by eliminating barriers in the marketplace that create high rates of unemployment can help prevent mental disorder. Beiser also states that attending to the mental health needs of refugees and attending to the disorders

that have their roots in resettlement difficulties could prevent wastage of human capital (Beiser, 2009:558).

Lesson ten says that discrimination jeopardizes the mental health of refugees. Beiser says that discrimination in the labor market is one of the causes of high unemployment rates (Beiser, 2009:558). The author states that discrimination can affect mental health by making it difficult to obtain and keep jobs, to receive equitable pay, and to find adequate housing. He also says that the perception of discrimination can damage self-esteem which creates an elevated risk of physical and mental health problems (Beiser, 2009:558). RRP learned that the more strongly invested in their ethnic identities the refugees were, the more damaging the mental health effect of perceived discrimination. They also showed that those refugees who integrated in to the larger society were less likely to suffer mental health risk due to perceived discrimination (Beiser, 2009:559).

Lesson eleven says that only a minority of refugees who lacked personal and social supports suffered an increased risk of depression beginning around ten to twelve months after their arrival in Canada (Beiser, 2009:560). Those refugees who had a significant other and/or a supportive community of like-ethnic individuals did not show an increase in mental health problems around a year after their arrival (Beiser, 2009:560).

Lesson twelve states that mental health risk is not determined by the resettlement process; rather, it is determined by contingencies surrounding the resettlement process such as stressors and protective factors (Beiser, 2009:560). Beiser lists the protective factors and stressors and social resources (family, ethnic community, larger society), personal resources (time perspective,

language fluency), socio-demographic characteristics (gender, age, education). Pre-migration stress (refugee camps, trauma, torture, loss, witnessing), mental health (depression, PTSD, well-being), and post-migration stress (unemployment, underemployment, discrimination) (Beiser, 2009:561).

Lesson thirteen says that the presence of significant others helps mitigate the risk of developing mental health problems created by resettlement stressors. RRP learned that maintaining a stable relationship or a stable job helped minimize mental health problems (Beiser, 2009:562). RRP learned that when suppressed memories began to resurface, having a significant other helped to mitigate the disillusionment which affected the mental health of the refugees (Beiser, 2009:562).

Lesson fourteen says that refugees are eager to find and relate to like-ethnic communities and finding such a community provides an advantage to mental health. Overly exclusive involvement in a like-ethnic community, however, may prevent an individual from acquiring the tools necessary to fully participate in the larger society (Beiser, 2009:562). Beiser states that access to a critical mass of persons from the same ethnic background can protect mental health. He states that having someone who you can share memories of home with provides emotional support for people who are trying to find their way in a new country. The like-ethnic community also provides ‘affirmational’ support which protects the individual’s self-worth (Beiser, 2009:563). When RRP conducted a second round of interviews two years after the initial survey, they learned that the like-ethnic community mental health advantage disappeared. Ten years after this initial survey, there were indications that exclusive involvement in a like-ethnic community

resulted in many disadvantages. These refugees were more likely to speak no English and were unlikely to list people from other ethnic groups as friends (Beiser, 2009:564).

Lesson fifteen states that private sponsorship of refugees may make a significant contribution to successful long-term adaptation. Also, sponsors who themselves had help were those that were best able to assist newcomers (Beiser, 2009:564). Beiser says that those refugees who were privately sponsored received more support. They were provided financial assistance by their sponsors for up to one year or until the family had achieved financial stability. They sponsors helped the refugees find jobs, schools for their children, and doctors. They were also better able to act as guides to the new arrivals in the new society (Beiser, 2009:564). There were, however, problems with private sponsorship. The refugees who were privately sponsored had difficulty understanding why strangers would want to sponsor them and reasoned that they must want something in return. When sponsors were of a different religion than the refugees, the refugees sometimes believed that they were expected to adopt their sponsors' religion (Beiser, 2009:565). At the same time, those that were privately sponsored were quicker to adopt constructive financial practices such as buying insurance and opening a savings account. Also, sometimes these sponsorships turned in to long-term friendships from which the refugees benefited (Beiser, 2009:566).

Lesson sixteen says that linguistic fluency affects the well-being of the refugee as well as the odds of successful integration. However, those who need language training the most are also the least likely to receive it (Beiser, 2009:567). Speaking the language of the host country not only helps to ensure job advancement but it also helps gain steady employment in non-ethnic settings. Beiser states that young, well-educated refugees were the most likely to learn English d

during their first couple of years in Canada while younger males, females, and the elderly who were generally less education, had a lower level of English language proficiency (Beiser, 2009:567). ESL classes were directed at those individuals who were the most likely to enter the workforce and so these other groups were neglected. There have; however, been developments in Canada to correct this issue such as the development of Canada's Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada program (Beiser, 2009:567).

Lesson seventeen says that ethnic identity affects mental health. RRP found no direct relationship between the strength of ethnic identification and mental health but they found that it did have indirect effects (Beiser, 2009:568). They found that strongly held ethnic identification tend to amplify the deleterious effects of unemployment and encounters with racism (Beiser, 2009:568).

Beisers final lesson states that resettlement is a life-long process and during this process the needs and coping strategies necessary to deal with these needs undergo constant change (Beiser, 2009:570). He says that during the early months of resettlement, like-ethnic communities help protect mental health but after the first couple years the mental health benefits of these communities declines (Beiser, 2009:570). Another example provided by Beiser is language acquisition. During the early years of resettlement, language skill does not affect the refugee's employability but by the end of their first decade in Canada, language fluency was an important predictor of job success (Beiser, 2009:571).

Beiser finishes the article by saying that the likelihood of living in a world that does not produce refugees is almost nonexistent. Therefore, research concerning resettlement and mental

health is extremely important and has a great deal to teach about individual and social reactions to overwhelming stress. Secondly, the author says that research on refugees should be longitudinal (Beiser, 2009:571). Third, research on refugees should take into account the personal and social resources people utilize to make their way in the world. Fourth, research, policy, and practice should be more closely aligned. Proper treatment cannot be provided to refugees unless the clinician understands something about the social and political context that resulted in their flight from their homes (Beiser, 2009:572). Finally, Beiser states that too little policy and practice is directed at ensuring the refugees stay healthy and this must be remedied (Beiser, 2009:574).

Practicing anthropologists can be of great help to relief agencies working with refugees. In the United States, the process, application, approval, and admission as a refugee involves several organizations. These include: The Department of State, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Center for Disease Control, and overseas representatives of private resettlement agencies (Howell, 1982:119). Internationally, there are complex policy issues underlying the admission and placement of refugees. These issues range from the criteria used to determine approval for admission. These policy issues also pertain to screening, orientation, and processing of the refugees (Howell, 1982:119). Within the United States, these issues encompass a much broader range of social policy. These include strategies for geographical placement, identifying and responding to special needs of refugees, examining questions of equity among the refugees and between refugees and non-refugees, determining priorities for the allocation of available resources, and developing capability and coordination among public and private agencies (Howell, 1982: 119-120).

Howell states that many of the issues involved in refugee resettlement within the United States reflect concerns that have traditionally been a part of the domain of anthropology and should therefore invite professional interest (Howell, 1982:120). He gives several reasons for this: (1) there are refugees who are culturally different from most residents of the United States, and; therefore, their resettlement in this country involves change and adjustment; (2) most refugees have a significant need for assistance in reconstructing their lives and establishing a means to support themselves; and (3) the institutional context for refugee resettlement is exceedingly complex (Howell, 1982:120). Therefore, anthropologists can be of great use to refugee resettlement agencies and government organizations who admit refugees.

David Haines and colleagues state that the anthropological technique of exploratory fieldwork can greatly contribute to the understanding of ethnic groups in metropolitan areas, to refugee studies, and also to one's own professional development (Haines, 1981:94). They argue that qualitative research strategies help to elucidate the dynamics of the adjustment process and thereby enhance survey and policy-oriented research. Exploratory fieldwork clarifies the social context of the adjustment process, the deceptiveness of traditional analytic categories such as "economics" and "the family, and the extended, spatial, and temporal dimensions of the adjustment process. To fill in some of the informational gaps in the literature on refugees, Haines et al. studied Vietnamese refugees in Washington D.C. (Haines, 1981:94). In the Spring of 1975, after the collapse of the Republic of Vietnam, over 130,000 Indochinese refugees fled to America. Indochinese refugees continued to arrive periodically and by January of 1981, over 450,000 had been resettled in the United States (Haines, 1981:95). Despite the large number of refugee arrivals during this time, there was no data on the dynamics of how refugees were coping

with resettlement. In order to gain information on this subject, Haines et al. turned to qualitative and open-ended research strategies (Haines, 1981:95). The data they gathered was used to provide suggestions for the reorganization of existing information in to a more coherent framework (Haines, 1981:95).

In conducting their research on Vietnamese refugees, Haines and his colleagues showed that exploratory fieldwork is feasible, cheap, and productive. They also learned that its findings can fill in conceptual gaps that often cannot be filled in with survey research. Third, exploratory fieldwork is an important part of professional development. Finally, the authors' main point in this article is that anthropology can make important contributions to general social science and policy formulation (Haines, 1981:100).

One example of an anthropologist working within a refugee agency is shown by MaryBeth Chrostowsky's (2010) work with Sudanese refugees in San Diego, California in her article "The Role of Asylum Location of Refugee Adjustment Strategies: The Case of Sudanese in San Diego, California". Chrostowsky states that upon resettlement, refugees face many challenges and experience enormous amounts of stress (Chrostowsky, 2010:38). These challenges and stressors will not necessarily be the same for every refugee. Each refugee will be confronted with their own unique challenges and adjustment patterns during their resettlement. Examples of these factors include the individual's gender, class, ethnicity, and religion. Community reception, land availability and tenure, the presence or absence of family networks, employment and access to social services within the host community will also have an impact on their resettlement (Chrostowsky, 2010:38). Therefore, Chrostowsky states, when placing refugees, the diverse needs and various refugee communities must be considered during their

placement. Relief agencies need to understand how a resettled community's culture and the host country's culture interact (Chrostowsky, 2010:38).

Chrostowsky examined how the initial asylum environments of Sudanese refugees in Kenya and Cairo later affected their cultural practices and adjustment after relocation to San Diego, California. Their resettlement was organized by three agencies: the International Rescue Committee, Catholic Charities Refugee Services, and the Alliance for African Assistance. Chrostowsky conducted interviews with the refugees to learn about the conditions they faced in Kenya and Cairo (Chrostowsky, 2010:38). Those refugees who sought asylum in Cairo, Egypt faced poverty, ethnic oppression, and lack of shelter. They were forced to find their own housing and, due to a lack of money, were forced to live in the poorest sections of Cairo. Sudanese women began to take on jobs in Cairo due to the need for money which forced me to assume roles traditionally left to women such as child care (Chrostowsky, 2010:40). In Kenya, refugees were faced with poverty, violence, and oppression – though a different form than those refugees faced in Cairo. They lived in mud huts with no electricity or running water. These refugees' movements were also restricted so that they had no access to paid work and were dependent on food aid for survival. Unlike in Cairo, this refugee environment did not force men and women to break the boundaries of their culturally assigned gendered norms or behaviors (Chrostowsky, 2010:40). When these refugees left Cairo and Kenya and came to San Diego, almost all of the women who had come from Cairo continued to work outside of the home while only one woman who had been in Kenya obtained a job in California. Chrostowsky felt the environment in Cairo had provided the Sudanese with a head start on what they would encounter

in the United States. Those refugees who came from Kenya; however, found it difficult to accept the idea of women working (Chrostowsky, 2010:41).

Chrostowsky's work helped to provide relief agencies with a current understanding of the issues faced by refugees and how to assist them during the resettlement process (Chrostowsky, 2010:42). Some of her suggestions were: (1) provide each case worker with reading material that discusses the history of the conflict that made these people refugees, their flight patterns, and asylum conditions, (2) provide the case workers with reading material on the cultural background of the refugees; (3) discuss with the case workers how the group's cultural and religious background will conflict or accord with the host country's culture; and (4) discuss with the case workers how the refugees' asylum experiences may affect adjustment to the host country (Chrostowsky, 2010:42). Chrostowsky also provided a list of information the case workers should obtain from refugees upon their arrival: (1) the refugee's previous asylum location and living conditions, (2) how long they were there, (3) employment possibilities and restrictions at the asylum location, (4) their education and skills training, (5) if and how they gained income during asylum, and (6) how they obtained food, clothing, and health care (Chrostowsky, 2010:42). Chrostowsky stated that these suggestions given to relief agencies could help the case managers tailor a program list suited for each individual refugee. All of this information can be gained through anthropological methods. Having case workers who are also anthropologists could go a long way in helping relief agencies provide adequate aid to refugees.

Chrostowsky's work shows how practicing anthropologists can help relief agencies when working with refugees. By interviewing Sudanese refugees she showed how experiences and needs differ among refugees, even if they fled from the same area. She was then able to help

relief agencies better tailor their program to meet the needs of all, rather than only some, of the refugees they aid.

A second example of practicing anthropology working with refugees is that of Lance Rasbridge (1996). Rasbridge works for the East Dallas Health Center which is a service agency developed to work with refugees. While working for this agency he started a series of outreach clinics in multiple areas with a high concentration of refugees in order to meet the changing refugee health care needs (Rasbridge, 1996:25). This proved to be more culturally appropriate and obviated the need for the refugees finding transportation to get to the doctor. Rasbridge set these clinics up in areas already familiar to the refugees which also meant that community leaders and family support was nearby. Rasbridge's clinics work closely with refugee settlement agencies and as a result the case workers are more active and more informed of their clients' health needs (Rasbridge, 1996:26). Within the clinic itself, Rasbridge coordinates the medical teams, refugee clients, and their sponsors and caseworkers. Most commonly his role is that of sensitizing the medical community to non-Western medical beliefs and practices. As an example, he has been successful in formulating a scheme in which dosage regimens of medications could be adjusted for the dietary practices of Muslims during Ramadan in order to fit the fasting period (Rasbridge, 1996:27).

Rasbridge's role as a refugee health advocate is an example of how anthropologists can be vital to refugee services and resettlement agencies. Through his work in Dallas, he has fostered a better understanding between refugees and their caseworkers and doctors.

A third example of anthropologists working with refugees is the work of George Scott (1982). Scott conducted research on the Hmong refugees who began arriving in San Diego in 1976. The Hmong are a people that live in the mountains of northern Laos and subsist through slash-and-burn technology. They are a kinship-based society who have a worldview characterized by animism, shamanism, and ancestor worship. This group was the most culturally disparate from the receiving society than any other culture that had previously come to the United States (Scott, 1982:146). Scott noted that after six years of living in San Diego, the Hmong cultural identity was still intact despite the fact that there had been pressure both outside and within the Hmong community in the opposite direction. As the community expanded, the original clusters have overflowed in to a second area but kinship and friendship ties have remained between these two clusters, forming one community (Scott, 1982:147). This provided a challenge for policy makers and service providers because the community has withdrawn into itself making it harder for agencies to reach them and encourage them to obtain employment (Scott, 1982:147). Scott states that between 1976 and 1979, unemployment among the Hmong community in Sand Diego had risen from 40% to 84%. In 1981, it dropped down to 77% but this was still an extremely high rate of unemployment (Scott, 1982:147). The author also said that among those who were employed, most of them were still in minimum wage, semi-skilled occupations. The few who had obtained a Western education and were gainfully employed stated a Hmong mutual-aid association, called the Lao Family Community. One of the duties of this community was to promote the virtues of learning English, achieving a marketable skill, and finding gainful employment. At the same time, the Lao Family Community also encouraged community solidarity and retaining ones ethnic identity (Scott, 1982:147). Essentially, the group wanted them to attain all the skills necessary to participate in the American economy, but they

wanted the Hmong to do this as a group. The Lao Family tells those who are successful that they are bringing honor to their family and people, not just themselves and they remind the Hmong to stay together (Scott, 1982:148). These two goals seem to contradict each other and this is the area of Scott's focus in his article. He says that what the Hmong desire is acculturating just enough to integrate while retaining their cultural and ethnic identity (Scott, 1982:149).

When the Hmong arrived in San Diego, they felt that they had already been successful in acculturating to American culture due to their contact with the US military in Laos. Soon after their arrival, they realized how ill-equipped they were for their adjustment to American culture. They retreated into their own culture to cope with the unfamiliar society in which they found themselves (Scott, 1982:153). The issue is that they seem to be sinking more and more in to unemployment and welfare support because of their unwillingness to acculturate to American society (Scott, 1982:154). Scott states that if more money were spent on language and vocational training and if there were more and better jobs available, the Hmong could move more effectively into society through its occupational system (Scott, 1982:154). This would reduce their cultural identity but it would not be extinguished completely; rather, it would be reduced to the point that they could take better advantage of the economic opportunities available to them. Scott finishes by saying that the Hmong's current situation is unstable and unless the government continues to fund language and vocational training programs, and those among the Hmong who have been successful continue to lead them, their predicament will only worsen. Therefore, Scott says, if either form of support were to end, the Hmong population will become a permanent part of the underclass (Scott, 1982:155).

A final example of anthropologists working within a refugee agency is the work of Jeffery MacDonald (1996). MacDonald works for a refugee resettlement social service agency in Portland, Oregon providing direct client services and training, needs assessment research, and managing and designing culturally specific programs for Southeast Asia. As part of his job, MacDonald also acts as an advocate for individuals who are not receiving services from other agencies or the government (MacDonald, 1996:8). For example, a member of the Iu-Mein community in which he works was informed by city officials he could not hold his nephew's wedding in their apartment. MacDonald mobilized many Southeast Asian and mainstream leaders, forcing the city to back down on the basis of racial and religious discrimination (MacDonald, 1996:8).

The twentieth century has seen the displacement of millions of people defined as refugees. World War II alone resulted in the displacement of approximately forty million people. A refugee is defined as being someone who flees their native country because of a real or potential threat based on their ethnic groups, political views, or religious beliefs (Holtzman, 2000:14). In order to settle in the United States, refugees, such as the Nuer of Sudan, have to prove they are actually fleeing persecution and are not seeking entry into the country for other reasons (Holtzman, 2000:15). Anthropologists can be of great help to refugee resettlement or refugee services organizations because they are trained to learn about and work with other cultures. Therefore, anthropologists can provide insight to the organizations to improve their ability to work with the refugees they are placing.

One final study on refugees that I wish discuss was an interdisciplinary study conducted by a sociologist and her colleagues in the areas of speech communication, counseling, and

mental health (2006). This study was intended to test the Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation on sixty-seven Bosnian refugees located in St. Louis, Missouri (Matsuo et al., 2006:3). They used convenience sampling and had the participants complete questionnaires to measure their level of competency in the host language as well as measure the host and ethnic interpersonal relationships, host and ethnic media use, sociocultural adaptation, psychological health, ethnic and cultural identity salience, and demographics (Matsuo et al., 2006:3).

Since the 1960s, many studies have been done on immigrants and refugees but, according to the authors, these studies placed too much emphasis on the refugees' disadvantaged situation and coercive assimilation. These studies saw the refugees as powerless groups who were dependent upon public support. These studies ignored the refugees' cultural orientation, autonomy, and ethnic diversity (Matsuo et al., 2006:4). Recently, studies have begun to integrate aspects of resettlement rather than focusing solely on the issues of mental health (Matsuo et al., 2006:5).

Matsuo and her colleagues chose to study the Bosnian refugees which is the largest Eastern European group being admitted into the United States since 1997 (Matsuo et al., 2006:4). They found that existing literature on Bosnians in the United States focuses solely on mental health and behavioral problems (Matsuo et al., 2006:5). Because of the lack of research on the Bosnian refugee resettlement process, this study attempted to examine their cross-cultural adaptation experiences and they adopted the Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation, developed by Y. Kim, to guide the design of this study (Matsuo et al., 2006:5). This paper deals specifically with their findings in regards to host language competence,

host interpersonal relationships and media use, ethnic interpersonal relationships and media use, and intercultural transformation in their cross-cultural adaptation process (Matsuo et al., 2006:5).

Matsuo and her colleagues briefly explain Kim's Integrative Theory saying that it describes and explains the process of cross-cultural adaptations and it identifies the key variables that make up the process (Matsuo et al., 2006:6). There are three assumptions on which this theory is based: "(1) humans are survivors and have the ability to adapt to environmental challenges, (2) adaptation occurs and is facilitated through communication, and (3) the nature of adaptation is complex and dynamic, which brings about the intercultural transformation of the individual" (Matsuo et al., 2006:6). Adaptation is a three step process which involves stress, adaptation, and growth. Matsuo says that strangers entering a new or unfamiliar culture will undergo a form of acculturation (learning a new culture) and deculturation (the unlearning of some of their old cultural practices). Acculturation usually consists of learning cultural practices ranging from attire and food habits to cultural values and behavioral norms. While going through the process, the newcomers will also experience stress through culture shock, avoidance, hostility, and identity conflict. They will eventually adapt by overcoming these predicaments (Matsuo et al., 2006:6). Matsuo says that Kim argues the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic happens in dialectic, cyclic, and drawback motions rather than in a smooth and linear fashion and that it will continue as long as there are new environmental challenges (Matsuo et al., 2006:7).

The authors conducted their study in St. Louis because it is one of the top ten resettlement locations for Bosnian refugees (Matsuo et al., 2006:9). Bosnian refugees have been settling in St. Louis since 1993 and they make up the largest refugee and immigrant population in St. Louis today. Matsuo et al. says that there are an estimated 50,000 Bosnian refugees living

in the area which is about 16% of the population of St. Louis (Matsuo et al., 2006:10). According to the authors, many of the Bosnians have trouble learning and speaking English and are reluctant to seek help in learning the new language. As a result, the older members of the Bosnian community tend to rely on the younger members to translate (Matsuo et al., 2006:10).

Matsuo and her colleagues developed a total of twenty-three hypotheses for their study (Matsuo et al., 2006:11-13). The first two hypotheses deal with the idea that the greater their competence in communicating in the host language, the greater their host interpersonal and mass communications (Matsuo et al., 2006:10). Hypotheses three and four are the idea that the greater their competence in communicating in the host language, the lesser the ethnic interpersonal and mass communication (Matsuo et al., 2006:11). Hypotheses five through seven deal with the idea that the better they are able to communicate in the host language, the more pronounced will be their intercultural transformation (Matsuo et al., 2006:11). Hypotheses eight through seventeen say that the greater interpersonal and mass communication there is in the host language, the lesser the ethnic interpersonal and mass communication (Matsuo et al., 2006:12). Finally, hypotheses eighteen through twenty-three say that the greater the ethnic interpersonal and mass communication, the greater the intercultural transformation (Matsuo et al., 2006:13). The authors also proposed two research questions: “(1) Is there a relationship between the Bosnian refugees’ cultural identity salience and their ethnic identity salience and (2) how is the participants’ ethnic identity related to their psychological health and sociocultural adaptation?” (Matsuo et al., 2006:14).

The authors’ methodology was to administer questionnaires in a face-to-face setting. They used a cross-sectional survey design in which measurements from existing scales were

used and translated in to Bosnian (Matsuo et al., 2006:14). They had a total of sixty-seven Bosnian refugees participate in the study of which 58% were female (Matsuo et al., 2006:15). 94% of the participants listed Islam as their religion while 3% stated they were Catholic and the other 3% said “other” (Matsuo et al., 2006:15). The questionnaire looked at their ability to carry out everyday activities and feeling comfortable in a particular environment, psychological health, ethnic and cultural identity salience, and demographics (Matsuo et al., 2006:15-19). The results showed that there was no relationship between the participants’ language competence and their host interpersonal relationships, their ethnic interpersonal relationship, and their ethnic media use (Matsuo et al., 2006:26). Also, there appeared to be no relationship between the participants’ host and ethnic interpersonal relationships. The authors did, however, find a positive relationship between the participants’ language competence and their host media use (Matsuo et al., 2006:26). Their findings show that, firstly, the data from their study suggested that Bosnian refugees could establish interpersonal relationships with other Bosnians which allowed them to coordinate their daily activities as well as to maintain group solidarity (Matsuo et al., 2006:27-28). Also, the authors state that because St. Louis had a large Bosnian population, their Bosnian participants felt at home in this city (Matsuo et al., 2006:28). Third, learning English did not deter the refugees from developing relationships with other Bosnians and their command of English helped them develop a new identity in the host country (Matsuo et al., 2006:28-29). A command of English also helped the refugees utilize host media in order to acquire information about the host culture (Matsuo et al., 2006:29). Matsuo and her colleagues conclude by saying that their findings suggest that competency in host communication and host and ethnic social communication were used to serve different functions during the participants’ resettlement process (Matsuo et al., 2006:30).

Today, there are approximately twenty million refugees worldwide that have been displaced due to war (MacDonald, DATE:308). When working with refugees within refugee agencies, anthropologists may be forced to become involved in a variety of political issues (MacDonald, DATE:309). Anthropologists in these situations may need to take on multiple roles as political activists, researchers, designers of social service, health care, and cultural preservation programs (MacDonald, DATE:309). He finishes by saying that anthropologists working with refugees must ensure that the knowledge they gain is useful to the communities that they have studied (MacDonald, DATE:312).

Chapter 2 – The Agency

Catholic Charities, Inc was founded was the National Conference of Catholic Charities in 1910 at the Catholic University of America in Washington DC. It was created to promote the creation of Catholic Charities bureaus in order to encourage professional social work practice, to help bring about a sense of solidarity among individuals and groups in charitable missions, and to be an advocate for the poor. This organization supports local Catholic Charities branches through advocacy; networking; providing a national voice; providing training, financial support, and leadership; and responding to domestic disasters (Catholic Charities USA, 2010).

The agency I worked with is called Catholic Charities of Tennessee, Inc. Catholic Charities of Tennessee Inc. was started in 1962 by William L. Adrian, the Bishop of the Diocese of Nashville. Between 1962 and 1966 they established foster homes for Cuban children. In 1966, they provided counseling and assistance for unwed mothers as well as providing emergency aid to sixty-five families. They also established a day care kindergarten program for the children of low income working mothers. During the 1970s they established their Refugee Resettlement Program and resettled approximately three thousand refugees from Southeast Asia. In the 1980s they established the Adult Day Care program for frail elderly persons. They also started a program to provide crisis intervention to families whose children were vulnerable to abuse and neglect. Finally, in the 1990s they began a program to train individuals and families who wanted to adopt or foster special needs children (Sinclair, 2010).

Today, this organization provides a variety of services including: (1) basic needs such as providing clothing, food and temporary financial assistance; (2) immigration services which

includes counseling and assistance in completing immigration forms; (3) refugee services which includes placing the refugees within Tennessee and working with these refugees after they have been placed; (4) providing children services such as parenting education, crisis intervention, case management for families, and counseling children who are secondary victims of homicide or victims of assault; (5) Hispanic services in which they provide basic needs, healthcare, case management, and interpreters for this Hispanic community in Middle Tennessee; (6) adult daycare programs for seniors and assistance to low-income elderly in Davidson County to help them maintain their independent living; (7) counseling for anyone who may need it; and finally, (8) pregnancy and adoption services for all ethnicities and religions (Sinclair, 2010). Catholic Charities is a 501(c)(3) organization which means that it is tax exempt; therefore, in order to provide these services, Catholic Charities of Tennessee, Inc. receives funding from individual donors as well as grants and contracts (Sinclair, 2010). During my internship, I worked in the Refugee Services Department which currently employs approximately forty-five full-time staff and around ten to twelve part-time staff. There are five program coordinators who, under the direction of the Department Director, oversee the remainder of the employees, the volunteers, and the interns (Branson, 2010).

Catholic Charities Refugee Services

When a refugee flees their homeland for reasons such as persecution, oppression, and war and finds him or herself in relative safety in another country, the first thing the refugee does is approach the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR). This organization determines whether to repatriate the refugee, nationalize him or her in the country they fled to, or resettle them in a third country (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.). Once UNCHR has

decided to send them to the United States, they contact the US State Department who conducts an interview and background check on the refugee at the Migration Processing Center to determine whether they are eligible for resettlement (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.). Once they decide to resettle the refugee in the United States, they contact refugee resettlement agencies within the US. For Catholic Charities, they contact the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) who decides which city to send the refugee to within the United States (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.). If the refugee already has family within the United States, they can petition to be sent to that city. This can happen quite often because when a family is a mother, father, and children, the mother and children are given one case number and the father and children are given another case number. This is so that if one of the parents dies, the UN ensures that the children will make it out of the country no matter what. This does mean that sometimes the mother and children are relocated but the father must remain in the refugee camps until his case number is called. “Free” refugees – those with no family in any destination city or country – can be sent anywhere (Claus, 2010). Catholic Charities is allowed to reject refugees but they almost always accept them. A situation where they might reject a refugee is if that particular client has a severe medical problem that is not covered by Tennessee insurance but is covered by insurance in another state. Once they assure a case, the refugee could arrive in Nashville anywhere from five days to five years after their acceptance (Walenga, 2010).

Refugees can wait in refugee camps to be resettled for anywhere from six months to seventeen years (Claus, 2010). Once the USCCB decides where to send the refugees, they notify the branch of Catholic Charities the refugee will be sent to who assigns a caseworker to the refugee. USCCB books the flight for the refugee and informs Catholic Charities of the arrival

date and time. Catholic Charities then makes arrangements for an apartment, furniture, and sets up the utilities. Once the family arrives, the caseworker picks them up and Catholic Charities Refugee Services works one-on-one with the refugee for the next ninety to one hundred and twenty days in order to help them become self-sufficient (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.). Many of the refugees come from cultures that live in extended family groups. In these cases, Catholic Charities attempts to place these extended family groups in the same apartment. If the complex has a limit on the number of people allowed in each apartment and the family exceeds this, then the agency places the family in apartments as close to each other as possible within the same complex. For example, some families I worked with had a brother and his family living across the hall. For refugees that have no family in Nashville, Catholic Charities tries to place them within a complex that already has members from that community or country living there (Kharel, 2010).

The government gives Catholic Charities Refugee Services Resettlement and Placement (R&P) Cash for each refugee (Eatherly, 2010). The agency receives \$1800 per refugee. Nine hundred of this goes to Catholic Charities, one to two hundred is put into an emergency fund, and the rest is used on the refugee. The government requires this money to be spent within three months of the agency receiving the money (Eatherly, 2010).

Catholic Charities has been working with refugees since the 1970s (Sinclair, 2010). During this time they have placed refugees from Albania, Armenia, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burma, Burundi, Bosnia, Cuba, Congo, Columbia, Cameroon, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Iraq, Iran, Kosovo, Kurdistan, Liberia, North Korea, Pakistan, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Uganda, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, and Zaire. During my time at the agency,

they were mainly working with refugees from Bhutan, Burma, Cuba, Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. Catholic Charities' mission statement in working with these refugees is: "Working and serving diverse populations, we strive to meet human needs and respect the dignity of all persons by empowering individuals to achieve self-sufficiency through encouragement, education, and support" (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.).

Despite their religious affiliation, Catholic Charities does not attempt to convert the refugees with whom they work (Claus, 2010). Their goal is not to turn anyone into a Christian. They are not interested in conversion; rather, they feel that people have come here to experience true freedom from the oppression they experienced in their country. This includes religious freedom. Catholic Charities feels that what they are doing expresses their beliefs enough. Volunteers and employees are there to help in the acculturation of all of these different groups no matter the religion (Claus, 2010).

Catholic Charities of Tennessee Refugee Services' goal is to help make refugees who have been settled in Nashville become self-sufficient within eight months after their arrival in the Nashville (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.). During the first ninety days after the arrival of the refugees, Catholic charities greets the refugees at the airport; provides them with initial food and clothing; assists the refugees in applying for insurance, food stamps, and a social security card; enrolls their children in school (if applicable); takes the refugees for their initial health screening; refers the refugees to Catholic Charities employment services; and has each refugee receive a skin test for Tuberculosis (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.). Usually within two weeks of their arrival, Catholic Charities provides an orientation for the refugees which I will discuss in chapter 3.

Catholic Charities Refugee Services is divided into several departments which all work together in order to help the refugees obtain self-sufficiency. Each of these departments has a supervisor who oversees the employees in that section. These departments are: (1) resettlement staff, (2) refugee youth and elders programs which are overseen by the Youth and Elders Program Coordinator, (3) the English Language program, (4) volunteers who are overseen by the volunteer coordinator, and (5) support staff. All of these departments are overseen by the department director.

A. Department Director

The department director oversees all of the refugees services, programs, and staff. At the time of my internship, there were twelve different programs funded from fifteen different sources (Branson, 2010). The department director also oversees the financial end of everything. She reviews all financial charges the department makes to ensure that everything is being charged to the correct program, she does the budgeting for the refugee services department, and makes sure all reports are submitted when and to whom they are supposed to be submitted. The department director writes five to seven grant proposals a year for the department and ensures that Catholic Charities Refugee Services is following all agency policies and procedures. She is also held accountable to make sure that the department does with the money what they told the funders there were going to do. The department director also services as a member of the senior management team which is made up of the directors of all seven departments within Catholic Charities of TN. They discuss general policies, what is occurring in each department, and make decisions that affect the entire agency (Branson, 2010).

B. Resettlement staff

The Resettlement Coordinator gives most of the new arrival orientation. She also supervises the resettlement sector which includes the caseworkers and the resettlement staff (Salyer, 2010). She is in charge of assigning new arrivals to a particular caseworker. From the time the refugees arrive, she oversees their housing and the caseworkers. The resettlement coordinator oversees the dispensing of resettlement money and employment money which is handled by the eligibility specialist and she dispenses funds for rent and electric bills. She also refers people who come to Catholic Charities Refugee Services to other organizations if Catholic Charities cannot help them.

The resettlement staff's job begins when they receive an arrival notice for refugees. Her first job is to find out how many people are in the family in order to determine how many bedrooms the apartment will need. She tries to use apartment complexes that already have a relationship with Catholic Charities Refugee Services and already has people from the new arrivals' communities or country of origin living in the complex. If she finds a new apartment complex that is suitable, the resettlement employee goes to their office and explains who she is and who she works for and asks if they will be willing to work with them and provide apartments for refugees. When a suitable apartment is found for new arrivals, she does the application process for them (the refugees sign the lease but she fills it out for them) and sets up utilities in the refugee's name. The resettlement staff also handles donations which are used to furnish the apartments. The sheriff's office provides inmates on Tuesdays and Thursdays to help set up apartments or pick up donations and take them to the warehouse Catholic Charities has set aside

for the donations. If there is something the apartment needs that is not among the donations, the caseworker buys it before the refugee arrives.

The apartments the resettlement staff chooses are in relatively safe areas of Nashville and are within walking distance of places the refugees may need to go such as the grocery store or bank. There is also a lot of ethnic diversity in the areas she places the refugees. These complexes are not section eight housing. Refugees are only placed in section eight housing if they are not self-sufficient after the initial eight month period allotted to Catholic Charities to make them self-sufficient. The resettlement staff is not in charge of moving refugees; rather, this is done by the social services caseworker who works with those refugees who are not self-sufficient after eight months.

Caseworkers begin working with refugees beginning the day they arrive in Nashville. They show the refugees how to use everything in the apartment; take them to appointments; perform the intake interview; submit applications for food stamps, work authorization, and social security cards; provide transportation to the refugee orientation and sometimes act as interpreters at the orientation; and conduct a self-sufficiency assessment a minimum of every thirty days to determine how the refugees are adapting and their progress toward self-sufficiency:

Figure 1: Self-Sufficiency Assessment

Tennessee Office ★ ★ for Refugees <small>"It was joyful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unwearied."</small>		FAMILY SELF-SUFFICIENCY ASSESSMENT AND PLAN				Date of Intake	
		Client Name/Case #:				Caseworker	
Check box if this issue will be addressed in the service plan. <small>(If not, explain in narrative; for literacy some have unlearned English answers.)</small>		1	2	3	4	Intake Status	Date and Status Update <small>(conduct re-assessment a minimum of every 30 days for active cases)</small>
		Not Stable	Minimally Stable	Moderately Stable	Fully Stable		
HOUSING	<input type="checkbox"/> home	resides in a temporary shelter or friend's home	has basic housing; maintaining rent problematic	has stable housing, pays rent without assistance		Date:	
FOOD	<input type="checkbox"/> no food; minimal access to food	receives food from emergency services	access to food of choice; supplements with food stamps	purchases sufficient food of choice without assistance		Status:	
PHYSICAL HEALTH	<input type="checkbox"/> severe health problems; no access to care	insufficient treatment due to limited access and expense	health and medication issues being treated with assistance	no significant health problems; manages health issues on own		Date:	
MENTAL HEALTH	<input type="checkbox"/> severe mental/emotional impairments	mental/emotional problems somewhat effect daily function	functions daily despite mental/emotional problems; in treatment	no significant mental problems; successful in treatment		Status:	
CLOTHING	<input type="checkbox"/> no additional clothing; no weather-appropriate clothing	limited access; insufficient weather-appropriate clothing	has sufficient and appropriate clothing	able to purchase sufficient and appropriate clothing		Date:	
EMPLOYMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> unemployed; no source of income	occasional work; participating in job training	employed; paid regularly	self-sufficient through employment		Status:	
SCHOOL	<input type="checkbox"/> no sign of adjustment; behavioral problems; parents rarely involved	sporadic behavioral problems; parents rarely involved	continually improving toward full adjustment and parent involvement	well adjusted; no behavioral problems; parents involved		Date:	
ENGLISH LANGUAGE	<input type="checkbox"/> unable to read, write or speak English	limited English abilities	working command of English; taking an ESL class	fluent in English; can work and easily interact in English		Status:	
CHILD CARE	<input type="checkbox"/> has no access to child care; no funds to pay for care	sporadic access to child care; has applied for assistance	receiving assistance for child care expenses	has regular access and means to pay for childcare		Date:	
TRANSIT	<input type="checkbox"/> has no access to transportation	often lacks transportation; lacks knowledge of bus system	regular transportation to/from work and family duties	owns car/insurance; mastered use of public transit		Status:	
FAMILY FUNCTIONING	<input type="checkbox"/> has severe relationship problems (i.e. abuse, alcoholism)	family stressed by poor internal relations	shows ongoing improvement toward stable family relations	supported by healthy, positive family relationships		Date:	
BUDGET SKILLS	<input type="checkbox"/> has no understanding of finances/expenses	limited budget skills; sometimes overspends budget	understands household needs; regularly lives within budget	maintains budget; engages in saving for asset purchase		Status:	
LIFE SKILLS <small>(time, laws, hygiene, etc.)</small>	<input type="checkbox"/> no knowledge of US culture systems or expectations	limited knowledge of US culture systems (behavior, time)	basic ability to integrate US culture into daily activities	ability to build and utilize skills in all aspects of life		Date:	
OTHER <small>(describe)</small>	<input type="checkbox"/>					Status:	

This assessment is a guideline for making the refugees self sufficient. The most important aspect is helping them to obtain and maintain a job, transportation, acculturation, and English language. The intake interview consists of gathering information on adult refugees' language skills, whether or not they speak/read/write English and their proficiency level, education level, work experience and whether any jobs were in their native country or while they were living in refugee camps, work availability, transportation availability, and any special circumstances or barriers to employment.

On occasion, refugee minors come to the United States with adult other than a parent, such as an older sibling. In these cases, the caseworkers must conduct an interview to determine the adult's suitability as a guardian to the minor. During this interview the caseworker interviews both the adult and the minor to determine what each person's expectations are of the other and to determine how the adult plans to take care of the minor. The areas covered in this interview are: (1) where did they last see each other, (2) the nature and extent of past relationship, (3) what is the relationship of the Responsible Adult (RA) to the minor, (4) what are the expectations of the minor, the minor's parents, or others about the reunification with the RA, (5) does the RA know of any medical conditions of the minor, (6) describe home and community conditions, (7) what are the sleeping arrangements in the house, (8) who will be able to supervise the minor in the house and when, (9) how does the RA plan to handle the additional and ongoing financial burden, and (10) does the RA know that they will be legally responsible for the payment of the IOM travel loan even though it is for the benefit of the minor. The caseworker also explains to the adult what their responsibilities will be as an official guardian. After ninety days, the caseworker performs a follow-up evaluation.

The social services caseworker deals with refugees who are not self-sufficient after the initial eight month period and with those refugees where it is unlikely they will ever be self-sufficient due to severe physical or mental health problems such as deafness or mental retardation. He works with these refugees in the same way that the other caseworkers do except that his job starts when theirs ends. Catholic Charities can work with refugees for up to five years in order to help them become self-sufficient.

The caseworker supervisor supervises the caseworkers and matches interns and volunteers with a caseworker. She prepares paperwork for the Department of Human Services (DHS) who comes to the office every Tuesday to determine client eligibility for food stamps, TENNCare, of Family's First insurance. The eligibility specialist fills out the applications and the caseworker supervisor gives them to DHS. Everyone qualifies for food stamps but Family's First is only for single parents and their children unless they are in the Match Grant program (Babikir, 2010). The caseworker supervisor reviews the files and case notes on each refugee and prepares them for a visit from the Tennessee Office of Refugees (TOR). She reviews intake forms and ensures that all the paperwork is complete. The caseworker supervisor is the contact person for the Health Department, the clinic, and the mental health facility if these facilities need to speak with a refugee, if there are any problems or issues, or if a refugee needs to be referred (such as to the mental health facility). She also acts as a counselor for clients and staff and sometimes clears up misconceptions clients have about Catholic Charities. For example, some refugees come to the United States expecting to receive welcome money upon their arrival in the United States. Another example is several years ago some Sudanese refugees came to the United States. Catholic Charities had received some wallets as a donation so they gave them to the male

refugees. A few years later, some Sudanese refugees from the same area arrived and wanted to know where their wallets were (Babikir, 2010).

Twice a week the caseworker supervisor sits with the resettlement staff and reviews arrival notices for refugees to determine how many bedrooms will be needed in the apartment as well as which complex in which the apartment should be located. If the refugees have family already in Nashville, they try and place them in the same complex.

The eligibility specialist is the liaison between Catholic Charities Refugee Services and TOR. TOR is over all resettlement agencies in Tennessee. They are the state representatives of the refugee agencies. TOR provides the RCA money, funds the social security programs such as ESL, TAP, and the refugees' visits to the health clinic. They also audit Catholic Charities files. Catholic Charities makes copies of everything before it is sent to TOR so TOR ensures that their files match (Eatherly, 2010). The eligibility specialist sends all of the paperwork on the clients to TOR. If there are any policy or documentation issues, he talks to TOR to resolve the issue. TOR gives the eligibility specialist the RCA money and he gives the checks to the caseworkers who give them to the refugees. After the checks are signed for, the receipts are copied and the originals given to the eligibility specialist who sends them to TOR (Eatherly, 2010).

Every month, the eligibility specialist fills out the State Monthly Reverification Form (SMRF) for each client. This is to inform them of any changes that may have taken place. The form tells TOR that the clients are compliant, whether or not they are attending English class, if they have moved it tells TOR the new location, and if the client is working it tells TOR where they are employed (Eatherly, 2010). He also is in charge of obtaining paystubs from working

refugees in order to send them to TOR so that TOR knows how much RCA money to give each month. RCA is a lump sum that comes in a check and the amount depends on how many people are in the family. This is one check per month for up to eight months after arrival. There is no more cash assistance after RCA ends (Eatherly, 2010). Match Grant pays for rent and gives each adult refugee in the program two hundred dollars and each child fifty dollars. This money comes directly to Catholic Charities who pays the rent for the clients directly to the apartment offices. There are only a few slots in this program each year and it only lasts for a few months.

The eligibility specialist also does intakes for second-migrants – refugees who were initially brought in to the United States in another city but move to Nashville during the first eight months - and asylees. He also reviews policies and fills out applications for TENNCare and food stamps.

The employment specialists are in charge of finding jobs for the refugees. They take the refugees to businesses to fill out applications and sometimes they fill out online applications for the refugees. The employment specialists talk to the managers at businesses about the possibility of letting refugees work there or, if they get a refugee a job there, they check in with the managers to see how the refugees are doing. They also provide an intense English language program called the Target Assistance Program (TAP) to some refugees. This is followed by job-training at the Rochelle Center. Rochelle traditionally worked with the mentally disabled but they now have government contracts so they employ refugees for these jobs. The Rochelle Center provides the refugees with work for minimum wage and gives them basic job training in the process. This is not a permanent job but is meant to provide refugees with job skills so that

they can obtain more permanent employment. While they work at the Rochelle Center, employment specialists continue to try and find the refugees' jobs.

C. ESL Coordinator

The ESL coordinator services refugees from both Catholic Charities and World Relief. The classes offered are for beginners and new arrivals. The ESL coordinator and tests the refugees' English proficiency at the Catholic Charities Refugee Services office (Appendix A). Those with a higher level of proficiency but still need some work are referred to other ESL courses in Nashville. Most of the students in her classes cannot even tell you their name or, if they can, they cannot write their name. These classes are located in areas that are easily accessible by the refugees and within walking distance from the apartment complexes. These classes are taught by volunteers and occur twice a week for two hours. The curriculum in these courses is everyday survival skills such as time, money, emergencies, shopping, holidays, cultural things, community, and transportation (Appendix B). The refugees attend these classes for as long as they can which is usually until they get a job. Occasionally they work with a refugee for up to a year but this does not occur very often.

D. Refugee Youth and Elders Programs

The Youth and Elders Program Coordinator oversees the Refugee Youth Program and the Elders Program. She also writes grants, develops new programs, and trains teachers to deal with refugees as traumatized populations. She explains to them that some children have experienced trauma which may display itself as problems at school and she teaches them how to deal with it

properly. She also explains to teachers why the refugees are here and shares some cultural information with the teachers.

The Refugee elders program works with refugees ages fifty and older (Olson, 2010). She teaches them English twice a week. The first half of the class is English lessons and during the second half of each class, she works with them on information that will be on the citizenship test. Once a week she takes them around Nashville to perform different activities such as visiting the library, museums, or the park. Twice a month she takes them to the gym to exercise and keeps track of their blood pressure and heart rate. The refugee elders program staff takes the elders to their doctor appointments, to the social security office to apply for social security cards, to apply for green cards, and to apply for citizenship. She also acts as a mediator between the elders and their families and the community (Olson, 2010).

The Refugee Youth Program is for children ages five to seventeen. This program gets the children enrolled in school and provides an after school program to help them with their homework. There is also a leadership program for high school students where Catholic Charities helps them with their homework and teaches them basic workforce skills. This program is also responsible for child immunizations.

Before children are enrolled in school, they come to Catholic Charities three days a week for four weeks. During this time they are taught basic English, how to work American toilets, basic hygiene, and they are taught school rules. After this four week program, the Refugee Youth Program enrolls them in school, gives them school uniforms, a book bag, school supplies, teaches them how school buses work, and gets them free lunches at school.

In order to be enrolled in school, the program must take the child and a parent who has a Tennessee State Identification Card, along with the child's social security cards, I-94's, and shot records to the ELL Office. This is the state center where you go to get your children enrolled in school if you come from another country and English is not your first language. ELL tests the child's English skills then enrolls them in to the Nashville Metro School System and inputs the family's food stamp number in to the system so the child can get free lunch. ELL gives Catholic Charities a receipt and Catholic Charities gives this to the guidance office who develops the child's class schedule if they are in high school. If the child is en elementary school, they put the child in to a class that corresponds to their age group. High school students are usually put in to ninth grade even if they are older than fifteen because they don't usually have documentation from schools in their home country or previous asylum location. The Refugee Youth Program also provides a parent orientation to inform parents how schools work in the United States.

E. Volunteer Coordinator

The volunteer coordinator is in charge of recruiting volunteers, interns, ESL teachers, mentors, and tutors. She finds and recruits people from all aspects of the community who are willing to help Catholic Charities resettle refugees and help them adjust to life in the United States. Anyone can be a volunteer as long as they have a valid driver's license and proof of auto insurance (Claus, 2010). Catholic Charities also performs a background check before accepting volunteers. The volunteer coordinator provides an orientation to let volunteers know exactly what they will be doing and then turns them over to the programs in which they are volunteering. Once the mentors and tutors, who work with individual clients or families, are assigned a client,

she takes them to meet the client so that the client knows the volunteer is working for Catholic Charities (Claus, 2010).

The volunteer coordinator makes all of Catholic Charities' needs known to the community. She is the liaison between the agency and parishes, colloquial schools, universities, and non-religious organizations. She tries to coordinator what resources or needs Catholic Charities has with those able to provide. She also does community awareness projects. For example, she coordinated with Nashville Public Television (NPT) to have a public showing of the Next Door Neighbors series which is about refugee communities in Nashville (Claus, 2010). The volunteer coordinator also provides a program for refugees to teach them how to use the public transportation system.

The volunteer coordinator is responsible for reporting volunteer hours and Match Grant funding. She keeps spreadsheets of the volunteers and their roles and inputs data about clients, volunteers, and services in to the computer system. When clients are taken on shopping trips by volunteers, she makes a notation in the system that the refugees received appropriate clothing. She also maintains all manuals and applications. Changes to these are approved by the department director. The volunteer coordinator also does event planning such as the Refugee Christmas party held every year. A hotel in Nashville donates one of their ballrooms every year for this party and they tailor the food they provide to the nationalities and religions of the individuals who will be coming.

F. Support Staff

The support services coordinator oversees the people who deal with the paperwork. She bills the USCCB in Washington DC for the money Catholic Charities uses each month. The USCCB then reimburses Catholic Charities for their expenses. She sends them copies of the receipts to show what the money was spent on each month. The support services coordinator also keeps the vans maintained and keeps track of vacation time and personal days.

The secretary tracks refugee expenditures and the refugees themselves until they arrive in Nashville. She gets all the biographies of the refugees that Catholic Charities is expecting to arrive. These biographies include name, language, place of birth, some history on the individual, and to which caseworker they are assigned. She passes out the arrival notices and issues the initial cash for the refugees when they arrive. Any expenditures on the behalf of refugees comes through the secretary. Each refugee has one thousand dollars which is used to set up the apartment, buy their initial food, set up utilities, etc. She subtracts the money used from the initial one thousand and keeps track of how much they have left. After the first ninety days, whatever is left over is given to the client. The secretary hands out vouchers to the caseworkers then takes them back after the refugees have signed them saying they received the money or the necessities the money was used to pay for on the refugee's behalf. She sends these vouchers to the USCCB and they reimburse Catholic Charities. If a refugee has an anchor – a family member already in the Nashville area who will sponsor the refugee – she contacts them and explains what their responsibilities will be and has them sign an agreement to act as anchor for the incoming refugee.

All of these different departments within Catholic Charities of Tennessee Refugee Services work together in order to achieve their goal of making refugees self-sufficient. They each target specific areas of the resettlement and adjustment process.

Problems and Issues in the Adjustment Process

Catholic Charities does encounter some problems during the resettlement process in helping the refugees adjust to life in the United States. The biggest issue the agency faces is with some of the Iraqi refugees. Many of these refugees worked as interpreters for the US military while they were still living in Iraq. This job was a very high paying job but the families were receiving threats and sometimes family members were killed or disappeared so they fled and came to America. Unfortunately, because of their work with the United States in Iraq, some of the Iraqi refugees come here with high expectations. They expect to get good, high paying jobs because these are the sorts of jobs they had in Iraq when working with the military. Very often, the jobs Catholic Charities is able to find for refugees are hard jobs at minimum wage and they can receive complaints from these refugees as a result. Sometimes Catholic Charities has a case where they find the refugee a job but then the client quits it because they do not like the job. These same refugees also sometimes complain about the furniture and apartments that Catholic Charities provides them, feeling they are not good enough. Usually, however, these refugees accept their position after a few months.

Another issue is that some refugees will ask the agency to do things for them even though they can do them on their own. In a sense, they expect Catholic Charities to spoon-feed them rather than working towards self-sufficiency. An example is asking Catholic Charities to take

them to doctor appointments, to fill prescriptions, or to take them to run errands even though they have a car and driver's license or have other means of transportation.

A third issue in helping refugees adjust deals with the Kurdish refugees. Sometimes these refugees have problems accepting the idea of women working and not covering their heads. Also, many of the Kurdish women are not well educated so they are less likely to speak English and this makes them less likely to be able to find jobs in the United States.

A final issue that Catholic Charities is sometimes faced with deals with refugees who have come from areas where they were extremely oppressed and have never had freedom of choice or been given the opportunity to make their own decisions. Sometimes, in these cases, the refugee or family is never able to understand this concept of freedom and fail to become truly self-sufficient as a result. Catholic Charities does everything they can to help the refugees but, in these cases, sometimes it is not enough.

Chapter 3 – My Role at the Agency

During my internship with Catholic Charities of TN Inc, I worked with their refugee services department. I was assigned to a caseworker who works with refugees from the time of their arrival. The caseworker picks them up from the airport and takes them to the apartment which was obtained for them by the organization. They work with these refugees for the next eight months or until they are deemed self-sufficient. There are several criteria they look at in making this decision: housing, food, physical health, mental health, clothing, employment, school (if applicable), English language, child care (if applicable), transit, family functioning, budget skills, and life skills (see appendix A for more detail). If the refugee is not self-sufficient by the end of the eight months, they are transferred to a social services caseworker that Catholic Charities has on staff who continues to help them work towards self-sufficiency. The social services caseworker is also assigned clients who have disabilities that make self-sufficiency impossible such as being severely mentally or physically handicapped.

On the day the refugee(s) are to arrive, I would buy food for the refugees to put in their apartment. The food we bought was mainly dependant on the refugee's religion and the diet of their country of origin. For those arriving from Iraq or Iran, since the majority of them were Muslim, we did not buy pork. For the Bhutanese, because many of them are Hindu, we did not buy any beef. In addition to food, we were given a list of items to buy from Wal-mart for the apartment. Most of the furniture and some of the appliances and necessities were donated to Catholic Charities but anything that had not been received through donations were bought before their arrival. These items usually included pillows, bed sheets, alarm clocks, a phone, dishes, toiletries, cleaning supplies, and sometimes a kitchen table with chairs. We would bring these

items to their apartment before going to the airport to pick up the refugees. After picking up the refugees, we would take them back to the apartment and provide them with an orientation to Western housing. This involves giving the keys to the head of household (PA); showing them how to lock the windows and doors and keep the home secure; explain the importance of being good neighbors (trash, noise, etc) and public versus private space; explain smoke detectors and how to use and maintain them; show them the light switches and fuse box and how to replace the light bulbs; show them how to use the toilets, sinks, tubs, and showers emphasizing what not to put through the plumbing (ex. trash); show them the cleaning agents and how to use them emphasizing child safety; show them how to use all the appliances (refrigerator, stove, oven, etc); show them how to regulate the temperature in the apartment emphasizing energy conservation; explain who to contact in case of problems with the unit; and ask them if there are any questions or concerns they may have or needs regarding their housing that were not addressed. The caseworker also usually cooked them a meal to eat before leaving.

Within twenty-four hours of their arrival, the caseworker was required to perform an intake interview. I went with the caseworker twice to do this and then conducted an intake interview on my own. This interview consists of having them sign the consent for release of information form which states that health professionals can release the refugees' information to Catholic Charities; signing the authorization for protected health information form (which says that Catholic Charities, the doctor, and the refugee will have the information but that Catholic Charities will not release it to anyone); signing the authorization for use of photographs and video of the refugees by Catholic Charities, if necessary; filling out the Alien Change of Address form so that the government knows where they live; as well as gathering basic information on

the refugee. The interview itself is used to find out what their language skills are; whether or not they speak, read, or write English and what their proficiency is; their education level; their work experience; their work availability; transportation availability (this is usually none but some refugees have family already in the area who have cars); any special circumstances or barriers to employment such as health issues; their date of birth; and their date of arrival. At this point we also returned their documents to them that they arrived on the plane with. These include the results of their overseas medical exam, their I-94 (refugee visa), and their promissory note which states that they will repay Catholic Charities for the plane ticket to the United States. Catholic Charities was required to make copies of all these documents for their files before returning the originals to the refugees.

After their arrival, the caseworker applies for a food stamp card for the refugee. I never applied for the card but I did activate them and deliver them to the refugees. While they waited for the card to arrive, Catholic Charities provided them with a \$100 gift card from Kroger or Wal-mart with which to buy food. I also took the refugees to the Social Security Administration soon after their arrival to apply for social security cards. These cards were sent to Catholic Charities and once they arrived, we made copies and then delivered the originals to the refugees. I would take the letters received from there back to Catholic Charities where I made copies for their file then returned the originals to the PA. The caseworker also applies for insurance and employment authorization cards for the refugees. Once these arrived, I would deliver them to the PA.

Finding jobs for the refugees was the role of the Employment department within the refugee services department, not the caseworker's, so I did not deal with this portion of their

resettlement within the United States. Part of my job was to take the new arrivals to their initial health screening. There is a clinic in Nashville that works with the refugees after their arrival to do their initial health screening and immunizations. If the refugee tested positive for Tuberculosis, it was also my job to take them to the TB Clinic at the hospital. Most of what I did during my internship was go to the client's apartments and deliver mail that had been sent to Catholic Charities, deliver checks from Catholic Charities, or bring receipts for them to sign showing that the agency paid for their rent, utilities, initial food, apartment furnishings, etc. On occasion, I took the refugees to the bank to cash their checks. Catholic Charities had an agreement with SunTrust Bank who would cash the refugees' checks. If the refugees had any questions or concerns that I could not answer, I would call their caseworker and ask him or, relay the message to the caseworker who would come out to their apartment at a later date and discuss the issues.

A. Refugee Orientation

During my time with Catholic Charities of Tennessee Refugee Services, I had the opportunity to observe the Refugee Orientation which they provide to all new arrivals. The following is an account of what goes on in this orientation.

The refugee orientation is an all-day event which is headed by the resettlement coordinator and occurs every two weeks. Catholic Charities picks up the refugees and brings them to the Refugee Services office where they provide translators for each nationality at the meeting. At this meeting the resettlement coordinator informs the refugees of the core services that Catholic Charities provides which includes picking them up from the airport; providing them

with food, clothing, and an apartment; assisting the refugees in applying for social security cards, food stamps, and work authorization; getting their children enrolled in school; referring the refugees for a health assessment; providing adults with English language training (ESL); help them find jobs; and provide them with orientation. Except for the job search and ESL courses, these services are provided within thirty days of the refugees' arrival within the United States. They are also told at this point to make friends in their communities because their caseworkers only work closely with the refugees for the first thirty days. The resettlement coordinator also informs them that each family has resettlement money which is what was used to obtain the apartment and set up utilities.

The next topic of discussion at the refugee orientation is what the refugees can do for themselves to become self-sufficient. These are: (1) cooperate with the caseworker during the resettlement process. Part of this entails being ready to leave when the caseworker arrives to take them to their appointments; (2) attend English class and practicing outside of class. For those that already speak English, she asks that they help those who do not; (3) attend orientation; and (4) cooperate with the employment specialist who is assigned to find jobs for the refugees. There are two employment programs provided by Catholic Charities. These are the Match Grant (MG) program and the Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA) program. Each program provides some money to the refugees for the first few months after their arrival in the US. She explains to the refugees that when the employment specialist assigned to their case finds them a job, it is important that they accept it even if they do not like the job because another opportunity may not arise for a long time. The hours may be long and the work hard, but by keeping with this job, they will have opportunities for better jobs in the future. Also, by participating in one of the two employment

programs, the refugee is agreeing to take on whatever job they are offered. The resettlement coordinator also informs them that they are welcome to look for jobs on their own or have a friend help.

The third section of the refugee orientation discusses the travel loan for which each refugee family has agreed to reimburse Catholic Charities. There are two reasons why it is important to repay the travel loan: (1) the money the refugees pay helps bring other refugees to America and (2) at some point the refugee will want to buy a house, car, or business and may need a loan from the bank. The bank will want to see the refugee's credit history and by seeing that the refugee paid off their travel loan, they will know that the refugee pays their bills and will be more likely to loan money.

The next section of the refugee orientation deals with the Alien Change of Address Form. The resettlement coordinator informs the refugees that the caseworker fills this out and turns it in to the Department of Homeland Security because they want to know where everyone lives. During the orientation she gives them a second form so that if they move in the future, they can fill it out to let Homeland Security know that they have moved.

The fifth area of discussion during the orientation deals handling money wisely. The resettlement coordinator tells the refugees that the stove, hot water, refrigerator, heat, and air run on electricity. Everyone will get an electric bill each month and it is very important to pay this bill. Each bill has two amounts, and if the refugee waits too long to pay the bill, they will have to pay the higher amount but if they pay it soon after it arrives, they can pay the lower amount. She explains that you cannot send cash to pay the bill but instead to pay with a money order

(caseworkers show them how to get a money order). She also points out on an example which part of the bill to send in to the electric company with the money order. The caseworker can help the refugee pay the bill the first time. The resettlement coordinator also informs them that as long as they pay their bill, they will continue to have electricity but if they stop paying the electricity will be turned off and it will cost one hundred and eighty dollars to get it turned back on. She then discusses phones. The resettlement coordinator tells them that cellphones are nice to have but they are expensive. Once the refugee has a job and is making money they can get one but she recommends that until then, they get a landline in the apartment. She provides them with information on how to get an inexpensive plan as well as with phone numbers of places they may need to call such as 911, the doctor, or Catholic Charities. She finishes by giving them information packets on American culture and law in the refugees' native languages which are to be read later.

The next section of the refugee orientation is conducted by the employment coordinator. He informs the refugees that each family will have an employment specialist assigned to their case who will help the refugees find jobs. They will take the refugees to fill out job applications, take them to job interviews, and take them to have their drug tests. He provides the refugees with the phone numbers of all of the employment specialists so that they can contact them with questions.

Next, the employment coordinator explains what they need from the refugees. He tells the refugees that they need to be available when the employment specialist needs to see them. Sometimes the employment specialist will show up at their apartment to take them somewhere. If they arrive and the refugee is not available, they will leave a first notice which informs them

that they were there and when they will come back. If the refugee is not available on the second visit, they will leave a second notice telling you to call the employment specialist within a week of receiving this second notice. If the refugee does not call them, their employment services and financial assistance will be terminated so he asks that the refugees make themselves available to the employment specialists. Next he tells the refugees that they do not need to wait for Catholic Charities to find them a job. If they find one on their own, they should accept it then inform the agency. Catholic Charities needs to know where the job name and address, the phone number of the company, how many hours the refugee will be working, and how much they make an hour.

The last thing the employment coordinator informs the refugees of is that Catholic Charities will help them get clothing if needed. The next week the agency will send a bus to pick up one member from each family who needs clothing and take them to the Music City Mission to shop for clothing. As they can only take one member from each family, that person needs to know what sizes to get for the rest of their family.

After the employment coordinator finishes, the orientation is taken over by the eligibility specialist who discusses health care with the refugees. Each refugee will receive either Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA) or TENNCare. Those who will receive TENNCare do so because they are nineteen or younger, or they have young children. During orientation, RMA is the only one of these discussed. Each refugee has a form provided to them which provides them with information on RMA in their native language. RMA is medical insurance which lasts for the first eight months after the refugee's arrival in the United States beginning on the day of their arrival. This insurance covers basic medical needs such as going to the doctor, going to the emergency room, or getting prescriptions. At this point most of the refugees have gone to the clinic for their

initial health screening and he informs them that this is the best place to go with this insurance if they are sick. If the refugee feels that they may need a specialist, go to the clinic and they can refer the refugee to someone in this insurance network. If it is an emergency, go to the emergency room or call 911 but make sure that it is an emergency first because the insurance will not pay for an emergency room visit and these can be very expensive. Each refugee will eventually receive an insurance card but if they need to go to the doctor before then, Catholic Charities will provide them with a letter from the insurance. RMA does not cover eyes or teeth except in emergencies. Next, the eligibility specialist addresses those refugees with children. He said if they have a pink sheet in front of them, it means that the Refugee Youth Program (RYP) coordinator will come to their apartment and meet the children. After meeting them, he will return at a later date to take them to Catholic Charities three days a week for four weeks. The agency has a room set up like an American classroom and the RYP coordinator will help them with their English and teach them things that will be helpful to know when they start school. At the end of this program, the RYP coordinator will provide the children with uniforms and backpacks as well as getting them enrolled in school.

The next item discussed by the eligibility specialist is the RCA program and the MG program. RCA is an employment and cash assistance program that lasts up to eight months after the refugee's arrival in the United States. The amount each refugee receives from this program depends on how many people are under your case number. The more people there are, the more money the family will receive. This money should be used to pay utilities, rent, and other necessities while they are trying to find jobs. If there is a child who is eighteen or older in the family, they will get their own check. Receiving cash assistance each month is dependent on the

refugees' compliance with the employment program which means applying for jobs, going to job interviews, and accepting a job when offered. If a refugee is seen as being in noncompliance with the employment program, Catholic Charities is required to cut off benefits and RCA. Therefore, if the refugee is having a problem, Catholic Charities asks that they inform the agency of this problem so that they can help and the assistance they provided is not terminated. Once a refugee in this program obtains a job, they are required to turn in their paystubs to Catholic Charities each month so that the agency can determine if they are still eligible for RCA benefits. Eligibility is determined by how much the refugee makes each month so if they only work a few hours a week for a low hourly wage, they will still receive money from the agency. If they make enough that Catholic Charities considers them to be self-sufficient, RCA will stop. The eligibility specialist explains to the refugees that RCA being terminated due to employment is a good thing because they will make more money from a job than they will through RCA. He does ask that if the refugee finds a job without assistance from Catholic Charities that they inform the agency because if they do not and continue receiving RCA benefits as if they were unemployed, they could end up owing Catholic Charities money.

For those refugees in the Match Grant (MG) program, almost all of their expenses are covered the first month after their arrival. For the second, third, and fourth months, MG pays for rent and gives the refugees some cash. Each adult receives two hundred dollars and each child receives forty dollars. The eligibility specialist advises the refugees to pay for their electric bill first after receiving this money and the rest they can spend on necessities though it is advisable that they save the money. At the end of the first four months, Catholic Charities is hopeful that the refugee will have obtained a job but if they haven't, having some money saved up will be

beneficial. While MG pays for their rent and gives them checks, there are two things required of the refugees: (1) cooperate with the employment specialist and when they find a job for you, take it and work hard to keep it, and (2) attend English language (ESL) classes. If the refugee does not attend ESL classes or accept the job offered, MG will end. MG will also end for the refugee if a job is found before the end of the fourth month. If this refugee has a spouse who has not found a job during this time, their MG cash assistance will not end.

Chapter 4 – Conclusion: A Role for Anthropology

My internship was within the areas of applied and development anthropology. Applied anthropology is the application of anthropological knowledge, methodology, and theoretical approaches to problems and issues within the real world. This is an interdisciplinary science which involves a variety of stakeholders including decision makers in the government, corporations, non-government organizations, and other interest groups; scientific or technical experts; and leaders and members of community organizations (Kedia and Willigen, 2005:1). Development anthropology is the application of anthropological knowledge to problems found in developing countries. Some of these issues include poverty, hunger, and environmental degradation (Kedia and Willigen, 2005:20). These areas in anthropology are particularly relevant to my work in this internship because they focus on doing research to inform change or designing and evaluating interventions.

Another area of anthropology that was particularly relevant to my internship is practicing anthropology. This area of anthropology is also a subset of applied anthropology but has a more specific focus than development anthropology. This idea emerged during the 1970s as a way to identify anthropologists who were employed outside of academic settings (Chambers, 1985:16). These anthropologists are heavily invested in making anthropological knowledge useful (Chambers, 1985:17). This area of anthropology actually focuses on working within an agency setting in the public sector instead of merely doing research to inform change like development and applied anthropology.

There were two main purposes in conducting my internship with Catholic Charities of Tennessee Refugee Services. The first was to perform an ethnographic study of a refugee resettlement agency in order to determine how these agencies in general operate. My second purpose was to determine how an anthropologist might play a role in these agencies.

Cultural and Religious Sensitivity

When working with refugees, Catholic Charities attempts to be both culturally and religiously sensitive. The agency tells their employees and volunteers to set aside assumptions and withhold judgment. They tell them to try and listen for misunderstandings, to pay attention to the verbal and nonverbal cues refugees provide and to explain oneself in multiple ways if necessary. They also tell the volunteers and employees that if the refugee family offers something to drink to please accept it because in many of these cultures, to refuse the offer is to insult the individual (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.). They also tell volunteers and employees not to extend one's hand to shake theirs in introduction unless the refugee offers their hand first. Some cultures do not shake hands, such as is the case in many Asian cultures who bow in greeting. In other cultures, such as some of the Middle Eastern cultures, if a female extends her hand to shake a man's hand before he extends his, it is considered flirting (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.). Catholic Charities also tells their volunteers and employees that if they enter a home and see the client's shoes next to the door, one should show respect by also removing your own shoes before entering the home (Catholic Charities Refugee Services, n.d.).

When placing refugees who live in extended family groups, the agency attempts to put them all in the same apartment (Kharel, 2010). If the complex has a limit on the number of people allowed in each apartment and the family exceeds this number, then Catholic Charities attempts to place the family in apartments as close to each other as possible within the complex. For example, one apartment may house grandparents, an adult son and his family while the apartment across the hall may house the brother and his family (Kharel, 2010).

Catholic Charities Refugee Services also tries to be sensitive to the religion of the refugees. The agency provides refugees with a list of churches, mosques, or temples depending on the refugee's religion (Claus, 2010). If they are Muslim, Catholic Charities provides them with a list of Mosques, separated by religious sect, in Nashville. For Hindus, they provide the clients with temple locations. With Christian refugees, Catholic Charities determines their denomination then provides them with churches that are of that denomination (Claus, 2010).

After working with Catholic Charities Refugee Services, I feel that they are more religiously sensitive than culturally sensitive though they do try to be sensitive to both areas. They made sure to provide each refugee with a list of churches, mosques, or temples, depending on their religion. For the Christians, the list even reflected their denomination. For the Muslims, they provided a list of all mosques in Nashville so that the individual or family did not have to reveal their denomination to the agency if they so desired. Also, Catholic Charities does not permit their employees to enter in to a religious debate or discussion on religion with the refugees.

While the agency showed sensitivity to each individual's religion, I feel that they were less culturally sensitive. For example, some cultures remove their shoes upon entering a home yet I did not always see employees remove their shoes upon entrance to the apartment. It is also considered extremely rude in some cultures to refuse an offer of food or drink while in that person's home, yet I did occasionally see or hear about attempts to refuse such offers. Catholic Charities does attempt to be culturally sensitive; however, and I feel that if they made information on each culture available to their employees, that there would be a rise in cultural sensitivity among the employees.

While working with Catholic Charities Refugee Services, I learned that they do not provide caseworkers with information on the cultures of the refugees nor do they provide information on the conflict or situation that made them refugees. If a caseworker wants to know more about the culture of the client they are working with, it is up to them to research it on their own time. Many of the caseworkers are former refugees and they do not even know why their fellow caseworkers came to the United States as refugees. There is also no information provided or gathered on the previous asylum conditions.

This would be an area in where anthropologists could be of use in refugee organizations. Knowing asylum conditions such as how long they were there, living conditions, and how they obtained food, clothing and health care could go a long way toward helping refugees adapt to their new lives. As Chrostowsky (2010) noted, some asylum locations force refugees out of their culturally assigned roles while other locations do not require this action. Those refugees who are forced to step out of their culturally assigned roles may have an easier time adjusting to life in the United States than other refugees because they have already had experience in breaking their

norms and behaviors. By knowing which refugees have not had to step out of their culturally assigned roles, caseworkers could determine which refugees are likely to have the most difficulty adjusting to life in the United States and may need extra help.

Anthropologists could also provide information to caseworkers on the cultures of the different refugee groups. Knowing more about the cultures of the people they are working with could help caseworkers communicate with and better understand their clients. Also, by making cultural information readily available, caseworkers may be more willing to learn about these different cultures since they do not have to research these groups on their own.

During my internship, I learned that not even the caseworkers who were former refugees know why their fellow employees were refugees. These employees knew even less about the refugees they worked with unless they came from the same country as that caseworker. Therefore, I feel that a good position for an anthropologist in this agency would be as a researcher who provides information on each culture dealt with by Catholic Charities. They could provide this information in the form of hardcopies and, as most employees have a computer at the office, in CD format. That way, if an employee wanted to learn more about the culture of the people they were helping adjust to life in the United States, the information would be readily at hand.

If Catholic Charities had the funds, they could create a research department in order to obtain this information and provide it to the other employees. This could help the organization become more culturally sensitive as well as help them better aid the refugees as they would know more about their past experiences in their native country and in asylum locations. Perhaps

Catholic Charities could also split the refugee orientation into groups who all speak the same language and have the orientation taught in these languages. This would reduce the time needed for the refugee orientation as it would not require long pauses for interpreters to translate it from English to the native languages of the refugees. Without funding, many of my recommendations would be impossible as they are a non-profit organization. Overall, Catholic Charities is a vital organization in the realm of refugee resettlement and does a superb job helping the refugees they are charged with adapt to their new lives. I do feel, however, that if they had funding to implement these changes, it would help this agency become even more sensitive than they already are to the refugees with which they work on a daily basis.

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Appendix A – English Language Proficiency Assessment Guideline

Exhibit 2.1 (Continued) Functioning Level Table

Outcome Measures Definitions			
EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONING LEVEL DESCRIPTORS—ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE LEVELS			
Literacy Level	Listening and Speaking	Basic Reading and Writing	Functional and Workplace Skills
Beginning ESL Literacy Test Benchmark: CASAS scale scores: Reading: 180 and below Listening: 180 and below BEST Plus: 400 and below (SPL 0-1) BEST Literacy: 0-20 (SPL 0-1) TABE CLAS-E scale scores: [*] Total Reading and Writing: 225-394 Total Listening and Speaking: 230-407	Individual cannot speak or understand English, or understands only isolated words or phrases.	Individual has no or minimal reading or writing skills in any language. May have little or no comprehension of how print corresponds to spoken language and may have difficulty using a writing instrument.	Individual functions minimally or not at all in English and can communicate only through gestures or a few isolated words, such as name and other personal information; may recognize only common signs or symbols (e.g., stop sign, product logos); can handle only very routine entry-level jobs that do not require oral or written communication in English. There is no knowledge or use of computers or technology.
Low Beginning ESL Test benchmark: CASAS scale scores: Reading: 181-190 Listening: 181-190 Writing: 136-145 BEST Plus: 401-417 (SPL 2) BEST Literacy: 21-62 (SPL 2) TABE CLAS-E scale scores: [*] Total Reading and Writing: 395-441 Total Listening and Speaking: 408-449	Individual can understand basic greetings, simple phrases and commands. Can understand simple questions related to personal information, spoken slowly and with repetition. Understands a limited number of words related to immediate needs and can respond with simple learned phrases to some common questions related to routine survival situations. Speaks slowly and with difficulty. Demonstrates little or no control over grammar.	Individual can read numbers and letters and some common sight words. May be able to sound out simple words. Can read and write some familiar words and phrases, but has a limited understanding of connected prose in English. Can write basic personal information (e.g., name, address, telephone number) and can complete simple forms that elicit this information.	Individual functions with difficulty in social situations and in situations related to immediate needs. Can provide limited personal information on simple forms, and can read very simple common forms of print found in the home and environment, such as product names. Can handle routine entry level jobs that require very simple written or oral English communication and in which job tasks can be demonstrated. May have limited knowledge and experience with computers.

Note: The descriptors are entry-level descriptions and are illustrative of what a typical student functioning at that level should be able to do. They are not a full description of skills for the level.

CASAS = Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System • BEST = Basic English Skills Test • TABE CLAS-E = Test of Adult Basic Education Complete Language Assessment System—English

^{*} Refer to the TABE CLAS-E Technical Manual for score ranges for individual reading, writing, listening and speaking tests. Table shows total scores.

Exhibit 2.1 (Continued) Functioning Level Table

Outcome Measures Definitions

EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONING LEVEL DESCRIPTORS—ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE LEVELS			
Literacy Level	Listening and Speaking	Basic Reading and Writing	Functional and Workplace Skills
High Beginning ESL Test benchmark: CASAS scale scores Reading: 191–200 Listening: 191–200 Writing: 146–200 BEST Plus: 418–438 (SPL 3) BEST Literacy: 53–63 (SPL 3) TABE CLAS-E scale scores: [*] Total Reading and Writing: 442–482 Total Listening and Speaking: 450–485	Individual can understand common words, simple phrases, and sentences containing familiar vocabulary, spoken slowly with some repetition. Individual can respond to simple questions about personal everyday activities, and can express immediate needs, using simple learned phrases or short sentences. Shows limited control of grammar.	Individual can read most sign words, and many other common words. Can read familiar phrases and simple sentences but has a limited understanding of connected prose and may need frequent re-reading. Individual can write some simple sentences with limited vocabulary. Meaning may be unclear. Writing shows very little control of basic grammar, capitalization and punctuation and has many spelling errors.	Individual can function in some situations related to immediate needs and in familiar social situations. Can provide basic personal information on simple forms and recognizes simple common forms of print found in the home, workplace and community. Can handle routine entry level jobs requiring basic written or oral English communication and in which job tasks can be demonstrated. May have limited knowledge or experience using computers.
Low Intermediate ESL Test Benchmark: CASAS scale scores: Reading: 201–210 Listening: 201–210 Writing: 201–225 BEST Plus: 439–472 (SPL 4) BEST Literacy: 64–67 (SPL 4) TABE CLAS-E scale scores: [*] Total Reading and Writing: 483–514 Total Listening and Speaking: 486–525	Individual can understand simple learned phrases and limited new phrases containing familiar vocabulary spoken slowly with frequent repetition; can ask and respond to questions using such phrases; can express basic survival needs and participate in some routine social conversations, although with some difficulty; and has some control of basic grammar.	Individual can read simple material on familiar subjects and comprehend simple and compound sentences in single or linked paragraphs containing a familiar vocabulary; can write simple notes and messages on familiar situations but lacks clarity and focus. Sentence structure lacks variety but shows some control of basic grammar (e.g., present and past tense) and consistent use of punctuation (e.g., periods, capitalization).	Individual can interpret simple directions and schedules, signs, and maps; can fill out simple forms but needs support on some documents that are not simplified; and can handle routine entry level jobs that involve some written or oral English communication but in which job tasks can be demonstrated. Individual can use simple computer programs and can perform a sequence of routine tasks given directions using technology (e.g., fax machine, computer).

Note: The descriptors are entry-level descriptors and are illustrative of what a typical student functioning at that level should be able to do. They are not a full description of skills for the level.

CASAS = Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System • BEST = Basic English Skills Test • TABE CLAS-E = Test of Adult Basic Education Complete Language Assessment System—English

^{*} Refer to the TABE CLAS-E Technical Manual for score ranges for individual reading, writing, listening and speaking tests. Table shows total scores.

Exhibit 2.1 (Continued)

Functioning Level Table

Outcome Measures Definitions			
EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONING LEVEL DESCRIPTIONS—ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE LEVELS			
Literacy Level	Listening and Speaking	Basic Reading and Writing	Functional and Workplace Skills
<p>High Intermediate ESL</p> <p>Test Benchmark: CASAS scale scores: Reading: 211–220 Listening: 211–220 Writing: 226–242</p> <p>BEST Plus: 473–506 (SPL 5) BEST Literacy: 68–75 (SPL 6)</p> <p>TABE CLAS-E scale scores:[*] Total Reading and Writing: 515–556 Total Listening and Speaking: 526–558</p>	<p>Individual can understand learned phrases and short new phrases containing familiar vocabulary spoken slowly and with some repetition; can communicate basic survival needs with some help; can participate in conversation in limited social situations and use new phrases with hesitation; and relies on description and concrete terms. There is inconsistent control of more complex grammar.</p>	<p>Individual can read text on familiar subjects that have a simple and clear underlying structure (e.g., clear main idea, chronological order); can use context to determine meaning; can interpret actions required in specific written directions; can write simple paragraphs with main idea and supporting details on familiar topics (e.g., daily activities, personal issues) by recombining learned vocabulary and structures; and can self and peer edit for spelling and punctuation errors.</p>	<p>Individual can meet basic survival and social needs; can follow some simple oral and written instruction; and has some ability to communicate on the telephone on familiar subjects; can write messages and notes related to basic needs; can complete basic medical forms and job applications; and can handle jobs that involve basic oral instructions and written communication in tasks that can be clarified orally. Individual can work with or learn basic computer software, such as word processing, and can follow simple instructions for using technology.</p>
<p>Advanced ESL</p> <p>Test Benchmark: CASAS scale scores: Reading: 221–235 Listening: 221–235 Writing: 243–260</p> <p>BEST Plus: 507–540 (SPL 6) BEST Literacy: 76–78 (SPL 6) **</p> <p>TABE CLAS-E scale scores:[*] Total Reading and Writing: 557–600 Total Listening and Speaking: 559–600</p>	<p>Individual can understand and communicate in a variety of contexts related to daily life and work. Can understand and participate in conversation on a variety of everyday subjects, including some unfamiliar vocabulary, but may need repetition or rewording. Can clarify own or others' meaning by rewording. Can understand the main points of simple discussions and informational communication in familiar contexts. Shows some ability to go beyond learned patterns and construct new sentences. Shows control of basic grammar but has difficulty using more complex structures. Has some basic fluency of speech.</p>	<p>Individual can read moderately complex text related to life roles and descriptions and narratives from authentic materials on familiar subjects. Uses context and word analysis skills to understand vocabulary, and uses multiple strategies to understand unfamiliar texts. Can make inferences, predictions, and compare and contrast information in familiar texts. Individual can write multi-paragraph text (e.g., organizes and develops ideas with clear introduction, body, and conclusion), using some complex grammar and a variety of sentence structures. Makes some grammar and spelling errors. Uses a range of vocabulary.</p>	<p>Individual can function independently to meet most survival needs and to use English in routine social and work situations. Can communicate on the telephone on familiar subjects. Understands radio and television on familiar topics. Can interpret routine charts, tables and graphs and can complete forms and handle work demands that require non-technical oral and written instructions and routine interaction with the public. Individual can use common software, learn new basic applications, and select the correct basic technology in familiar situations.</p>

Note: The descriptions are entry-level descriptors and are illustrative of what a typical student functioning at that level should be able to do. They are not a full description of skills for the level.

CASAS = Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System • BEST = Basic English Skills Test • TABE CLAS-E = Test of Adult Basic Education Complete Language Assessment System—English

* Refer to the TABE CLAS-E Technical Manual for score ranges for individual reading, writing, listening and speaking tests. Table shows only total scores

** Students can be placed into advanced ESL using Best Literacy but the test does not assess skills beyond this level so students cannot exit Advanced ESL with this test. Retesting of students who enter this level with another assessment is recommended.

Appendix B – Sample ESL Lessons

Mini-Lessons

This should be the fun part, where I am the ESL teacher and you are the students. I'll do 2 lessons, starting with Beginning ESL Literacy and moving up. We won't do a complete lesson; I'll break each one off for you to ask questions and then move to the next one.

Lesson 1 – ABC's (Students are new and very low)

Objectives: Ss will be able to say their name; repeat the alphabet after me; put alphabet cards in order; and copy the alphabet

Materials: Alphabet flash cards; Handout for copying ABC's

Vocabulary: name

Grammar: Wh question -- "What's your name?"; question/answer

Beginning Routine:

- T says to each S:
"My name is Karlene. What's your name?"

New Content: Alphabet

- T says entire alphabet slowly.
- T starts alphabet again and gestures for Ss to repeat each letter. (Listen & Repeat 2 -3 x)
- T shows flash card for each letter, says the letter and gestures for students to repeat.
- T points to each card and gestures for students to say the letter.

Oral Practice:

- T starts with A, points to next student and says B, to next and says C, then continues to point to each student for the next letter until alphabet is complete.

Written Practice:

- T draws lines on board similar to handout lines and writes A, B, C.
- T gives handout and reads letters down page.
- T shows on board to copy over dotted line letters, then make 2 more letters on their own.
- T helps students make 2 A's, then 2 B's, etc.
- Complete A – M

Homework:

- Complete handout copying alphabet

Summary:

- Listen and Repeat alphabet

Lesson 2 – The penny is in the cup.

Objectives: Ss will be able to identify a penny and a cup; speak and write short sentences using prepositions (in, on, over, under); and demonstrate correct meaning of prepositions

Materials: penny, cup, preposition cards

Vocabulary: penny, cup, in, on, over, under

Grammar: To be verb (is); prepositions of place, Wh question – “Where’s the penny?”

New Content:

- T shows penny, cup and asks “What’s this?” for each item. T uses sentence “This is a _____” L & R 2 x
T asks questions (with incorrect information) to check understanding, “Is this a _____?”
- T holds penny in hand, puts it in cup and says “The penny is in the cup.” L & R several times
- T asks questions to check understanding, “Is the penny in the cup?” and “Where’s the penny?”
- T repeats above process with “on” “over” and “under”
- T each time includes questions with all of the prepositions that have been covered to that point.

Oral Practice:

- T gives each student a cup, penny and card with one of prepositions written on it. T asks them to show us the correct use of the preposition. T says, “Where’s the penny?” Student responds correctly with “The penny is...”

Written Practice:

- T writes list of vocabulary words on the board. L&R
- T writes the question and answer on the board, “Where’s the penny?” “The penny is in the cup.”
- T asks Ss to copy the question on the board.
- T asks Ss to write the question 3 more times and then use other words in the answer.

Homework

Summary

- T demonstrates each preposition, asks the question, “Where’s the penny?” and students answer.

Lesson 3 – Who's in the picture?

Basic Objectives:

- Students will be able to look at a picture and answer Wh questions, including Who, What, Where, When, and Why.
- Ss will be able to write Wh questions and simple sentence answers.
- Ss will demonstrate understanding of descriptive words: inside/outside, street/sidewalk, morning/night.

Additional Related Objectives:

- Ss will demonstrate understanding of family relationships including mother, daughter, son, father, parents, child. Ss will be able to identify plural form.
- Ss will be able to use "and" as a sentence connector. (EX: The woman walks and the baby rides.)
- Ss will be able to use personal pronouns, "she" and "they", with appropriate verb tenses of walk, push, and ride. (EX: she walks, they walk)
- Ss will be able to use the simple present and present progressive forms of the following verbs: walk, push, and ride. (EX: She walks everyday. She is walking today.)

Materials: picture, Wh cards, true/false questions with red/green cards, handout

Basic Vocabulary:

Who	woman
What	baby
When	stroller
Where	street
Why	sidewalk

walk	inside
push	outside
ride	day
	night

Additional Vocabulary:

mother	she
daughter	they
son	walk/walks/walking
father	push/pushes/pushing
parents	ride/rides/riding
child	

Basic Grammar: Wh questions

Additional Grammar: Personal pronouns/verb tense, simple present/present progressive tenses,

New Content:

- T shows picture/Who card and asks Ss **"Who is in the picture?"**
If Ss are slow to answer, ask "How many people are in the picture?" and if needed, point to woman and ask, "Is this a man or a woman?" Point to baby and ask if she is a woman. Prompt students until they use the terms woman and baby. They may offer mother and daughter.
- T writes (on the board) "Who is in the picture?" and "The woman is in the picture. The baby is in the picture." L & R several times.
- T shows What card and asks **"What is the woman doing?"** and then **"What is the baby doing?"**
- T waits/prompts for answers and/or acts out: walk, push, ride. Then T states:
"The woman is walking." L & R
"The woman is pushing the stroller." L&R
"The baby is riding in the stroller." L & R
- T writes the questions and the answers (on the board). T asks individual students to read.
- T shows Where card and asks **"Where is the woman?"** and **"Where is the baby?"**
T prompts with questions: "Is the woman inside or outside? Is the woman in the street? Is the woman on the sidewalk?" Then T states:
"The woman is outside. The woman is on the sidewalk."
"The baby is outside. The baby is in the stroller."
- T writes the questions and answers (on the board). T asks students to read.

Lesson 3 Continued

- T shows When card and asks **"When is the woman outside?"** or **"When is the woman walking?"** AND **"When is the baby outside?"** or **"When is the baby riding?"**
T prompts with: "Is it morning or night?" and states:
"The woman is outside in the morning." L&R
"The baby is outside in the morning." L&R
- T writes the questions and answers (on the board). T asks students to read.
- T shows Why card and asks **"Why is the woman walking?"** then **"Why is the baby riding in the stroller?"** T prompts with "Is the woman walking for exercise?" "Where is she walking?" "Does she want the baby to go to sleep?" T forms answers into simple sentences. L&R
- T writes the questions and answers (on the board). T asks students to read.

Oral Practice: True/False Questions

- T holds up green card and then red card: "Green means true; red means false." L&R
"What does green mean?" "What does red mean?"
- T gives green/red cards to students. Hold up red: "Does red mean true or false?"
Hold up green: "Does green mean true or false?"
- T reads first question and asks "True or False?"; instructs students to hold up correct card.
T continues with each question. The answer to each is False; ask the follow-up question.

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| 1. The woman is walking at night. | <i>When is the woman walking?</i> |
| 2. A man is walking outside. | <i>Who is walking outside?</i> |
| 3. The baby is pushing the stroller. | <i>Who is pushing the stroller?</i> |
| 4. The woman is walking with a boy. | <i>Who is with the woman?</i> |
| 5. The woman is riding in the stroller. | <i>What is the woman doing?</i> |
| 6. The baby is walking outside. | <i>What is the baby doing?</i> |
| 7. The woman is pushing a car. | <i>What is the woman pushing?</i> |
| 8. The woman and baby are in the street. | <i>Where are the woman and baby?</i> |

Written Practice: Match and Copy

- T holds up 4 cards for the first question (in random order) and asks what word goes first for the question...talks students through until they put words in the correct order for question and answer. T writes Q & A on board. L&R.
- T forms 4 small groups and gives each group 1 set of cards to put in order (could be done sequentially with one student.) Once students have correct order, L&R and then write on board.
- T asks students to copy the questions/answers.

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| 1. Who | is in the picture? | A woman and baby are | in the picture. |
| 2. What | are they doing? | The woman is pushing | the baby in the stroller. |
| 3. Where | are the woman and baby? | They are outside | on the sidewalk. |
| 4. When | are they outside? | The woman and baby are | outside in the morning. |
| 5. Why | are they outside? | They are outside because they | are going to the store. |

Homework Question Mark Sheet: Write 2 questions in each block.

Summary There are 5 words we use to ask questions. What are they? Who, what, where, when, why.